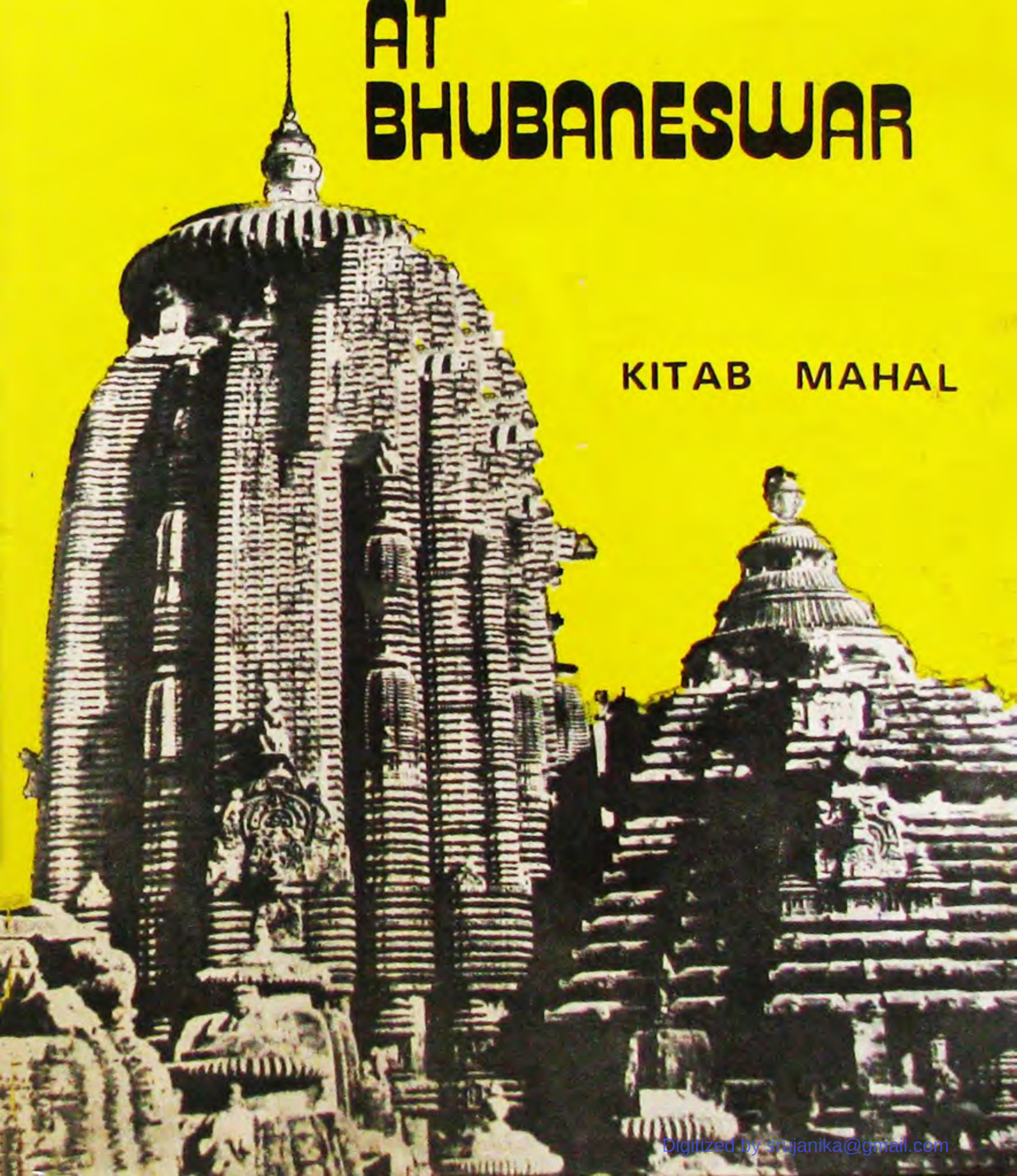
Dr. KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT BHUBANESWAR



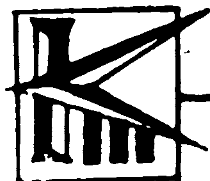
KITAB MAHAL



The author (born 1909) has devoted four decades of his illustrious career to the study of archaeology, history and culture of the State of Orissa. In his early career he was trained as an archaeologist under the able guidance of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Sir R. E. Mortimer Wheeler. He has served as an archaeologist in the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, as a Superintendent, as a Curator in the Orissa State Museum, as Professor of History in the Berhampur University His outstanding contributions such as Archaeological-remains at Bhubaneswer, Chronology of Bhauma - Karas and Somavmsis of Orissa Sarala Das (The Maker of India Literature Series), and many other books in English and in his native language 'Oriya' have brought him national and international repute in recognition of monumental contributions Government of India has awarded him 'Padmasri'. After retirement from active service, the author was appointed for a few years as the U G C Professor of History at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and at present he is treated as the doyen of Orissan culture. He is extremely busy in writing research papers, hundred of such papers being already published in India and abro

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT BHUBANESWAR

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DEDICATED

TO

MAHARAJA SIR PRATAP CHANDRA BHANJ DEO

OF

MAYURBHAṆJ

as a token of the author's gratitude

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The manuscript of this book was completed in the year 1952 and nine years after it was published by Orient Longmans in the year 1961. As has been mentioned in the Preface to the first edition, the aim of this work was to assign the numerous monuments of Bhubaneswer to the broad political epochs, but not to fix their dates, which in many cases was precluded by the nature of the data available at that time.

But during the last two dacades two more Universities have been created in Orissa. Adequate arrangements have been made to enable research scholars to study the archaeological remains lying scattered all over Orissa. Many eminent scholars of international repute have come to Orissa and commendable research programmes have been carried out by them in collaboration with the research scholars of the three Universities of Orissa. Through such investigative and intensive studies and research they have tried to fix the chronological positions of the different dynasties.

Yet, I have been asked by my friends and many a research scholars to see that this book will not be out of circulation any longer. Because of their repeated requests and suggestions I was thinking of finding a publisher to reprint the book in its original form. I have not tried to make any changes keeping pace with the recent discoveries so as to present a revised and enlarged edition of the book. Instead, I wanted to publish just a reprint of the book in its original form. At my ripe old age I earnestly feel that fixing of the accurate dates of the archaeological remains, which I have left incomplete, will be completed by the historians of Orissa and abroad in the near future. They have all the time and improved technologies at their command to investigate. I shall be extremely happy, if this work, which was completed three decades ago, helps the research scholars of the present and the future to throw more and more light on the archaeological remains of Orissa.

I am grateful to Sri J. C. Khandai, proprietor of Kitab Mahal, who of his own accord, persuaded me to allow him to reprint this work. I unhesitatingly permitted him to do so. He has tried his best to look to the quality of printing. I am happy that, after a long lapse of time, the book is again in circulation due to the persistent demands of all those who need it most.

Ist. June, 1981. K. C. Panigrahi.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

SINCE the completion of this work nine years ago several new data relating to the history of Orissa have been brought to light and these have changed the chronologies of some ancient ruling dynasties of Orissa during whose supremacy some monuments dealt with here, were created. The chronological positions of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavaṁśīs have become fixed by important recent discoveries and these discoveries have been dealt with by the author in a separate monograph entitled *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavaṁśīs of Orissa* which is now under publication. According to the revised chronology the Bhauma-Karas and Somavaṁśīs ruled in Orissa from A.D. 736 to *c.* A.D. 931 and from *c.* A.D. 931 to *c.* A.D. 1110 respectively. It has not been possible to incorporate these changes in this work, but they do not much affect the conclusions given here relating to the chronology of the temples erected during the periods of their supremacy. Our main attempt here has been to assign the numerous monuments of Bhubaneswar to the broad political epochs, but not to fix their accurate dates, which in many cases is precluded by the nature of the data available for the purpose.

For the preparation of this work, I am indebted to the Government of Orissa which gave me facilities to prepare it while I was in their service. They have also put me under immense obligations by giving me full financial assistance to meet the cost of its publication.

In the earlier stages of the preparation of this work Chaudhari Ramanath Misra, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Neogy and Mr. S. G. Tewari greatly helped me in procuring the photographic records of the monuments and sculptures, for which I remain grateful to them. I am also indebted to the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, for the supply of a good set of photographs which replaced the photographs of smaller size and have now formed the illustrations Nos. 15-28, 30-57, 59-87B and 106-117.

The manuscript in its final stage was thoroughly revised by Mr.

S. K. Saraswati, now Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. A silent devotee in the temple of learning, a profound scholar of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, and above all an upholder of truth and tolerance, Mr. Saraswati, despite his other preoccupations, took immense pains to go through the entire manuscript and give me the benefits of his erudition, for which I hardly find words to express my gratitude to him.

I am also grateful to Mr. John Irwin of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Miss Madhuri Desai of the Bulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, Madam Jeannine Auboyer of the Musée Guimet, Paris and Mr. Douglas Barrett of the British Museum, London, for their kind interest shown in the publication of this work.

26 April 1961 K. C. Panigrahi

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I

INTRODUCTION

BHUBANESWAR, the new capital of Orissa, situated in the district of Puri, requires no geographical introduction. As a place of pilgrimage it became far-famed in ancient times as Ekāmra or Svarṇṇādri and in modern times it attracts pilgrims and visitors who come from all parts of India, to pay homage to the numerous deities or to see and study the numerous temples that no one has up till now exhaustively surveyed or even counted. This temple town contains scores of ancient stone temples which vary in size from the gigantic structures like the great Liṅgarāja, 128 feet high, to the miniatures of a few feet set up in waysides or along the banks of the ancient tanks. To an archaeologist all these structures are of equal importance, because they stand as milestones in the long evolution of the art and architecture of the place. The late M. M. Ganguly, who first attempted their systematic survey, puts their total number as five hundred[1] which must have included the miniatures also but omitted the completely ruined ones and those now turned into mounds. These temples by reason of their number, varieties, antiquity and the immense wealth of sculptures, form an important group in the whole of India and present immense possibilities for archaeological studies.

The small town of Bhubaneswar, which contains most of these temples, represents a poor relic of a magnificent past. To an archaeologist, however, it is not the only place of interest, for the standing temples form only the last links in the chain of a series of ancient monuments to be found in and around the town. The area, in which the ruined or living monuments are to be met with, extends over ten miles and the orthodox opinion even now claims that area to have been included in Bhubaneswar proper. The orthodox texts define

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273.

the area as extending from the Khaṇḍāchala (Khaṇḍagiri) on the west to the temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara situated at the top of the Dhauligiri on the south.[1] To understand the history and archaeology of the place in their wider contexts, it is therefore necessary to take a note of all the monuments not only of the present town but also of its suburbs. While their fuller discussions should be reserved for the next chapters, it is also necessary here to have a bird's-eye view of them, so that their cultural and historical importance can at once be realized.

The earliest monument, Śiśupālagarh, is an ancient fort situated about a mile to the east of the Liṅgarāja temple, the main landmark of the place. Its extensive ruins enclosed by the high rampart walls running in a perimeter of about four miles, were chosen of late for excavation by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, in collaboration with the Orissa Government. The excavations have revealed to some extent the unique features of its plan and antiquities that go back to the fourth or third century B.C.[2] About four miles to the south of Śiśupālagarh is the hillock of Dhauli containing the famous Rock Edicts of Aśoka on a projecting boulder that has a colossal figure of the forepart of an elephant at the top. The antiquity of the site has further been proved by the recent excavations, which have unearthed a wall built of rubble and mud mortar like the walls of New Rājagṛiha at Rajgir. Down below at the foot of the hillock are also to be seen some temples of the later periods, which together with an inscription of the reign of the Bhauma king Śāntikaradeva engraved on the walls of an artificial cave,[3] indicate that it continued to be a site of importance even in later times. The next link in the chain of the historical monuments is found at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, the twin hillocks, situated about six miles to the north-west of the temple town. These hillocks are honeycombed with rock-cut caves originally meant for the Jain ascetics. These caves with their bas-reliefs and Brāhmī inscriptions provide us with the early specimens of art and architecture of the place, which can be approximately dated. The famous inscription of Khāravela which is engraved on one of these caves, known as the Hātīgumphā, is a unique historical document that throws considerable light on the early history of Kaliṅga and India in the second or first century B.C. Next in order of antiquity are the numerous temples mostly situated

[1] *The Svarṇnādri-mahodaya*, Chapter I.
[2] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 72.
[3] Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 11.

in the present town, of which the earliest one, the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara, according to the chronology so far established, belongs to the eighth century[1] and the latest one, that of Ananta-Vāsudeva, dates back to A.D. 1278.[2] There is thus a gap of about eight hundred years between the Jain caves of the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri and the earliest temples of the place. But there are found evidences, not yet noticed by the scholars, to show that the limits of the temple-building period can be extended on both sides and the gap narrowed; the earliest temples can be pushed back to the sixth century and the latest brought down to the fifteenth or the sixteenth. If, therefore, the narrowed gap can still be reduced or completely bridged with new discoveries, we shall have a continuous history of the development of art and architecture of the place from the fourth or third century B.C. to the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., a period of about two thousand years, which covers almost the whole dated history of Orissa from its very dawn down to the last Hindu dynasty.

It is indeed rare to find anywhere in India such a large number of ancient monuments at one place as we have at Bhubaneswar, and covering such a long period and so well representing the dynastic changes in history. Their distinctive character entitles them to be treated in a separate volume, but so far no such work has been attempted, though they have formed the subject matter for a chapter or chapters in all important works on Indian art and architecture. The present work, however, originated from a need that I felt as the Curator of the Orissa Museum. While engaged in collecting sculptures for the Museum and examining those acquired by my predecessors, I felt increasingly the necessity of finding out some definite and concrete data other than the stylistic indications, with which the age of these antiquities could be determined. The extant works on Orissan art and architecture having failed to satisfy my need, I started a comparative study of the characteristics of the temples at Bhubaneswar and their sculptures, which, when closely examined, were likely to provide me with some new criteria for ascertaining the age of the sculptural specimens acquired for the Museum. The study, thus started, soon involved me in the larger problems of finding out the dates of the monuments, exploring the entire area for new materials to cover the gaps in the history of their evolution, and utilizing the

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 338-9,
[2] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 267,

results obtained from all sources for a chronometric purpose and for the reconstruction of Orissan history.

My study with regard to the temples relates to their two main aspects, viz. their structures and their sculptures and with regard to other monuments, only to their chronological and historical importance. On the temple architecture of Orissa some important works like those by M. M. Ganguly[1] and N. K. Bose[2] have been written, which throw considerable light on their characteristics and evolution, but the vast wealth of sculptures which they possess, has practically remained unstudied. This has provided a justification for laying greater emphasis on the sculptures of the temples. However, since in all religious buildings art and architecture have been inseparably connected, both of them have been studied to furnish clues to their age and historical importance. In fact, the results obtained from the study of both art and architecture have been compared and taken into consideration while arriving at certain conclusions. A greater necessity has therefore been felt for a thorough examination of the monuments themselves. If this work can claim any advantage over others written by my predecessors, it is that it is based on an intimate knowledge of the objects, acquired through a long association with them.

Since the art and architecture of a temple are contemporary to each other, the date of one has been taken to be the date of the other, but my methods of study, particularly with regard to the sculptures, have in some ways been different from those employed by my predecessors in this field of work. The date or age of a sculpture is very often determined on the basis of style or epigraphic evidence found on it, but in the case of Orissan sculptures, the stylistic peculiarities have very often proved to be illusory and misleading. Let us take for instance the Buddhist sculptures discovered from Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district, which are "characterized by naturalism, perfect equipoise combined with a very high standard of idealistic excellence."[3] But for the presence of inscriptions on some of them, "there are certain characteristics which a Coomaraswamy or Ganguly would have styled 'Gupta'; the expression of the face, the modelling of the torso and the schematic arrangement of the locks of long hair over the shoulders of the Vajrapāṇi, all indicate the highest stage of plastic art which Orissa attained in

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains.* [2] *Canons of Orissan Architecture.*
[3] R. D. Banerji, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 385.

the Medieval period,"[1] and they "can be safely assigned to the middle of the eighth century or its beginning."[2] The stylistic peculiarities unaided by any other evidence are thus apt to lead to not very sure conclusions. The stylistic considerations very often ignore certain important factors such as the local peculiarities, skill and capacity of individual sculptors, pecuniary condition of donors, and unwarrantably presuppose the same level of culture prevailing in different parts of India during a particular age. The conclusions reached on stylistic considerations also admit of wide variations and sometimes reduce themselves to matters of opinions. One notices a vast difference even in the contemporaneous art of the same locality, an instance of which, as Dr H. K. Mahatab has pointed out,[3] is to be found in the images of the *Jagamohana* of the Jagannātha temple at Puri and the great temple of Koṇāraka. The former are characterized by crudity and grossness, but the latter are the superb products of an art in its full bloom, although both are contemporary to each other. The stylistic peculiarities have not been therefore used in this work as the sole evidence of age, but have sometimes been utilized as a secondary or corroborative evidence.

The epigraphic records found on the monuments have been utilized as evidence regarding their approximate age; but such records are very rare in the case of the Brahmanical sculptures of Bhubaneswar, which, unlike the Buddhist images, bear no inscriptions recording the names of the donors or rulers. The absence of epigraphic records has consequently been taken by Prof. R. D. Banerji to be a serious handicap in dating the Brahmanical temples and sculptures of Orissa.[4] It is true that the palaeography of even an undated inscription goes a long way in giving us an approximate date, but while its presence on the archaeological objects is to be taken as a positive advantage, its absence should not be taken as a serious handicap. A modern archaeologist does not consider epigraphic records, so rarely found, as indispensable for a study of the chronology or sequence of a class of antiquities, especially of one particular zone or locality. By close observation and comparative study which lead to the discovery of a number of clues to their age, he attempts to establish their sequence which assumes the shape of a chronology, if some datum lines representing some known dates are discovered at

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 395. [2] Ibid. p. 393.
[3] *Odishār Itihāsa* (Oriya), p. 148.
[4] R. D. Banerji, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 395.

some stages of their evolution. Such objects as potteries and beads which were once considered to be undatable materials, are now being widely studied on these lines with excellent results, and there is no reason therefore why art and architecture with numerous internal evidences of their age, will not yield the same results when studied on the same lines. The present work has, therefore, relied more on the internal evidences than on anything else and consequently the method of study adopted in it has been more objective than subjective.

The method of study adopted here being objective, no meticulous care has been taken to ascertain the accurate names of the icons with the help of the iconographic texts or to explain the origins of the different forms of the same deity with the help of the mythological stories given in the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit texts. The present writer cannot claim the vast erudition with which the standard work on *Hindu Iconography* such as the one by the late T. A. Gopinath Rao, has been compiled. This monumental work serves one great purpose, viz. it gives us the accurate names of the images, but the problem of Indian history and archaeology is one of dates and not of names and so there should now be more intensive attempts to place them chronologically. Besides, the learned authors of the standard works on iconography have themselves observed that the descriptions given in Sanskrit iconographic texts about the forms and attributes of particular deities do not in many cases tally with their actual representations found in different parts of India. Mr T. A. Gopinath Rao illustrates a number of images which do not correspond to their descriptions given in the Tantra texts, and in this connexion the observation of Prof. J. N. Banerji is even more revealing:—

"As is well known, the correct identification of an icon is possible only when we find a text describing the image to be worshipped, exactly corresponding in all details to the image in question. There are many images which do not fit in with any iconographic text known so far, and, what is more surprising, many icons found in Bengal, with definite names given in inscribed labels do not exactly conform to their *dhyānas* given in current Tantra texts. It is evident, therefore, that either there were other texts not yet discovered or the iconoplastic art in Bengal did not always scrupulously follow them. The former supposition is, however, more probable."[1]

So far as the Hindu icons of Bhubaneswar are concerned, no Tantra texts have yet been discovered in Orissa, to which they can be

[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 430, Dacca University.

proved to have completely conformed. The images of the same deity are however found to have changed from period to period either due to a change of the iconographic texts or of the prevailing popular conception about it. So, if even some texts are discovered, it is highly improbable that they will enable us to explain these changes. The dates of such texts remaining uncertain, they are also not likely to help us in fixing the dates of the icons. The mythological stories about the origins of different deities and their different forms are so varied, and the dates of the works which contain them are so uncertain, that they cannot help the study of the icons intended for a chronometric purpose. While realizing the importance of the study of the Tantra texts and Purāṇas as a source of religious history, it has, therefore, been thought best not to depend upon them for any inference or conclusion relating to the chronology of the archaeological objects. Every emphasis has, therefore, been directed to find out their internal evidences of age.

The present dissertation is, hence, a typological study of the temples and sculptures and has yielded some data with which the supposed long gap in the history of art and architecture of Bhubaneswar has been sought to be bridged. Prof. R. D. Banerji has observed: "There is a long gap after the first century B.C. in the history of Orissan architecture as in the case of her political history. It is extremely difficult to say at present how Orissan architecture developed during the eight centuries which intervened between the second group of Jaina caves and the earliest medieval temples. Our materials for these eight hundred years are yet very scanty with regard to the study of the evolution of art and totally non-existent with regard to architecture."[1] But the process and the data with which he started the study of art and architecture of the place seem to have been more responsible for creating this immense blank period rather than the absence of materials. There was no reason to make the so-called blank periods of both political history and the history of art and architecture, coeval with each other. Such a coincidence would have hardly been possible, had he not allowed archaeology to follow political history. When numerous ruined temples, detached sculptures and mounds were available for study, there was hardly any reason to take the well-preserved Paraśurāmeśvara Temple to be the earliest Brahmanical monument of the place. Even the so-called blank period in political history has

[1] R. D. Banerji, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 333.

been reduced, to a certain extent, by later discoveries. I have, therefore, started with no preconceived idea that the blank period in the political history of Orissa should have any relation with the history of its art and architecture. Further explorations have yielded new discoveries and the close study of the available materials along with the new ones has, to a great extent, succeeded in bridging up the immense gap.

Although this work is primarily intended to serve a chronometric purpose for the history of art and architecture of Orissa, particularly of Bhubaneswar, the results it seeks to achieve shall have also some bearing on the study of Indian art and architecture, particularly of the eastern zone. With the progress of Indian archaeology, it is perhaps now time to make an analytical study of the characteristics of local art and architecture in their important centres in India, so that a synthesis of the characteristics of Indian art and architecture will ultimately be evolved. Moreover, there should now be attempts to find out some concrete evidences for determining their age, which, supplemented with abstract stylistic indications, will yield more definite results. Prof. J. N. Banerji, by bringing into play his vast erudition and critical faculty, has shown the way in his *Development of Hindu Iconography* as to how concrete facts can be gleaned from the art specimens for determining their age and history. But his work deals with Indian art as a whole and has so far been confined only to the ancient period. The study of local sculptures still remains a necessity for which the present work makes an attempt in this direction. It suffers from various limitations of which no one is more aware than the writer himself.

Since the monuments in and around Bhubaneswar cover practically the whole dated history of Orissa from the earliest times to the last Hindu dynasty, there will be occasions to refer frequently to the political periods in the subsequent chapters. It is therefore necessary here to sketch the main outline of the political history, so that the chronological positions of the main ruling dynasties of Orissa will remain known to the reader. The chronology of Orissan history suffers from many limitations and is obscure at many points. Certain new facts relating to history and chronology, that will emerge from the study of the monuments at Bhubaneswar will be embodied in a separate chapter, but here the main outline of Orissan history, which is being sketched, is based on the results of the researches conducted by a number of scholars at different times.

Without entering into a detailed discussion about its ancient geography, it can at once be said that the present state of Orissa occupies the major portion of the country which was known as Kaliṅga in ancient times. This is evident from the existence of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district, both containing his separate Edicts intended for the officers and people of Kaliṅga. Its dated history begins with the famous Kaliṅga War waged by Aśoka in about 261 B.C.[1] The Kaliṅga War formed an epoch-making event in his career and in the history of Buddhism. Aśoka certainly occupied Kaliṅga and appointed his governors and officers for it, but nothing is known whether his successors also continued to rule over it in the same manner as he did. The next landmark is furnished by the dynasty of Khāravela, described in the Hātīgumphā inscription as Cheta-vaṁśa. This famous inscription at Udayagiri, near Bhubaneswar, chronologically records the events of the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign,[2] and gives us an idea that under Khāravela Kaliṅga expanded into an empire stretching both to the north and the south. What happened to this empire and who succeeded Khāravela in Kaliṅga, are points which still remain to be settled. The date of Khāravela is itself a knotty point in Indian history. Some scholars place him in the second century B.C., some in the first century B.C. and others drag him down to the second quarter of the first century A.D.[3] However, Aśoka and Khāravela are the only two great known personalities connected with the history of ancient Kaliṅga, and the records and monuments which they have left, provide spotlights in the otherwise dark period of its ancient history.

Sufficient materials have not yet been discovered to reconstruct a continuous history from the end of Khāravela's reign to the rise of the Śailodbhavas. A few materials such as the Kanas Copper-plate Grant of Śrī Lokavigraha Bhaṭṭya Mahāsāmanta dated in the year 200 of the Gupta Era (A.D. 519-520),[4] Copper-plate Grant of Pṛithivī-vigraha dated in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 570),[5] the Patiakela Grant

[1] V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (4th Edn.), p. 164.
[2] B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 7 ff.
[3] Ibid. pp. 268 ff.
[4] *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 261 ff. Mr S. N. Rajguru, the editor, reads *Gupta kale* 200 in the second line of the inscription, but the facsimile reproduced is so very indistinct that I am unable to verify it
[5] The *Manoramā* (Śiromaṇi Press, Berhampur, Ganjam), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 18 ff and Plates.

of Śivarāja,[1] the Soro Copper-plates,[2] Midnapur Plates of Śaśāṅka[3] and some archaeological remains at Deṅgāpośi in Keonjhar[4] have indeed been discovered, but they do not help us to bridge up the whole gap nor do they throw sufficient light to clear all points of obscurity. According to the latest tentative chronology, the Śailodbhavas flourished from the second quarter of the sixth century and ended in the second half of the eighth.[5] The cradle of the Śailodbhava power was Koṅgoda, the modern Ganjam district. During the reign of Mādhavarāja II, Koṅgoda came under the suzerainty of a foreign power, as is evident from his Ganjam Plate dated in the year 300 of the Gupta Era (A.D. 619), in which he refers to his overlord Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka, identified with king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, the rival of Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Thaneswar.[6] At this juncture of the history of the dynasty, Orissa seems to have been a bone of contention among the three great powers that dominated India in the first half of the seventh century. Śaśāṅka ruled in Orissa at least up to A.D. 619, his northern rival Harṣavardhana led a campaign against Koṅgoda in about A.D. 643 probably to chastise Mādhavarāja II or his successor, and before that date the great Chālukya emperor Pulakeśin II had already occupied Kaliṅga and Kośala and had probably made incursions into Orissa proper.[7] The dynasty soon, however, regained its independence, for, the same king Mādhavarāja II who acknowledged the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka, later on issued copper-plate grants without any reference to an overlord and perhaps grabbed a portion of Kaliṅga.[8] The last three rulers Mādhava Varman Śrīnivāsa, his son Madhyamarāja and his grandson Dharmarāja seem to have become very powerful, extending their kingdom both to the north and the south and performing Vedic sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya*.[9]

The real cause of the break-up of the Śailodbhava kingdom may be traced to the rise of the Bhauma-karas in northern Tosali with their capital at Virajā or modern Jajpur in the Cuttack district. The earlier rulers of the Bhauma-kara dynasty seem to have ruled in the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-8.
[2] Ibid. Vol. XXIII, pp. 197-203.
[3] *J.R.S.B.*, Vol. XI (1945), pp. 1-9.
[4] *Modern Review*, Vol. LXIII, 1938, pp. 197 ff.
[5] *Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, p. 74.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
[7] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 129-30.
[8] *Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, p. 70.
[9] Ibid. pp. 70-2.

north contemporaneously with the Śailodbhavas in the south, but from the copper-plate grants of some later members, it becomes evident that they extended their kingdom to the region once occupied by the Śailodbhavas.[1] The chronology of the Bhauma-kara rulers still presents great difficulty, because the years to be found in their copper-plate grants are not recorded in any specified era and therefore there is still a dispute among the scholars as to whether they are to be referred to the Harṣa era commencing from A.D. 606[2] or to any other. If, however, these years are taken to have been recorded in the Harṣa era as some scholars have done,[3] the chronological position of the dynasty will roughly cover the period between the first quarter of the 7th century to the first quarter of the 9th. The names of all the male members of the Bhauma-karas ended with *kara* and except the first two rulers, all of them alternately bore the names of Śivakara, Śubhākara and Śāntikara. Towards its end, a calamity seems to have overcome the dynasty, as is apparent from the fact that all the last four rulers were females.[4] The nature of the calamity is not known, but it is evident that a period of chaos and disunity followed when the country became divided into a number of principalities ruled over by minor dynasties, such as the Bhañjas, Nandas, Tuṅgas and Varāhas etc.[5] It may be noted that the Tibetan historian Tāranātha also records a period of chaos and confusion in Orissa about this period.[6]

The Somavaṁśīs, popularly known as the Keśarīs, were the next dynasty that gave political unity to Orissa. They were primarily the kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala but held Orissa by conquest. Janamejaya, the first joint ruler of both the countries, is credited in the Brahmeśvara Inscription to have killed the king of Oḍra (Orissa) with a *kunta*.[7] Five other kings who followed him were, in chronological order, Yayāti I, Bhīmaratha, Dharmmaratha, Nahuṣa, Yayāti II and Uddyotakeśarī. After Uddyotakeśarī, the dynasty declined in power and the last member was ousted by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, the founder of the Gaṅga supremacy in Orissa. The

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 137-40.
[2] Of late, Dr R. C. Mazumder has doubted on good grounds whether the so-called Harṣa era was ever in use in any part of India, *Ind. Hist.* Q., Vol. XXVII, 1151, pp. 183-190.
[3] B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 68-79.
[4] *Ind. Hist.* Q. Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 215-16.
[5] B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, pp. 34 ff.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 360-9.
[7] *J.R.A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. XIII, p. 68.

chronology of the Somavaṁśīs like that of the preceding ruling families of Orissa, is not free from difficulty, but the latest tentative chronology worked out by Dr D. C. Sircar after a careful study of the epigraphic records, places the main rulers between A.D. 950 to 1065.[1] Although the Somavaṁśīs were primarily the kings of Kośala with their capital in that country, the last two members, Yayāti II and Uddyotakeśarī, appear to have transferred their capital to Jajpur in the Cuttack district and made Orissa their home.

While the Somavaṁśī power was declining, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga attacked Orissa and annexed it to his kingdom. The date of his conquest is generally taken to be before A.D. 1118[2] but epigraphical evidences are now forthcoming to show that the conquest was effected even before A.D. 1114.[3] Choḍagaṅga was decidedly the strongest and most powerful king of his age in south-eastern India and he commanded the resources of a vast kingdom stretching from the river Godāvarī to the bank of the river Hooghly. During his long reign of 72 years, he laid the foundations of the Gaṅga kingdom which was destined to survive for more than three hundred years. The Gaṅga rule in Orissa can now be placed between A.D. 1114 to 1435 during which fifteen kings reigned in unbroken succession. During their rule, the Muslims were rapidly occupying the whole of northern India including the neighbouring province of Bengal and the great achievement of the Gaṅgas was that the great kings of the dynasty, like Anaṅgabhīma III and Narasiṁha I, not only drove away the Muslim invaders of Bengal, but also conquered parts of their territories. The position was, however, changed towards the end of the dynasty. The last few rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty became very weak and Orissa became the happy hunting ground of the neighbouring powers, specially the Muslim kings. It seemed that Orissa, like other parts of India both in the north and south, would soon become a Muslim kingdom.

At this juncture of Orissan history, a most powerful man rose from the common ranks of the people of Orissa, who not only retrieved the fallen fortunes of the Gaṅga kingdom, but also carved out an empire stretching from the South Arcot and Tanjore districts in the

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, December, 1946, p. 307.
[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 249.
[3] *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1 ff. The compound containing the date and wrongly read by me as *chatu-rāma-kh-endu* should now be corrected to *ṛturāma-kh-endu*. The former reading gave A.D. 1112, but the latter gives A.D. 1114 as the date of the inscription.

south to the bank of the river Hooghly in the north. The man was Kapilendra or Kapileśvaradeva who was originally a Gaṅga officer holding the humble title of *Mahāpātra* but who, after a successful *coup d'état*, occupied the throne in A.D. 1435.[1] The rulers of the dynasty that he founded became known as the Sūrya-Vaṁśīs or Gajapatis and it produced two more able rulers, Purusottamadeva and Pratāparudradeva. But the empire established by Kapileśvara was short-lived, for, under Pratāparudra who ruled from 1497 to 1541, it was already on the decline. A period of turmoil followed his death leading to the establishment of the short-lived Bhoi dynasty which however was put to an end by Mukundadeva Harichandana in 1559-60. But Mukundadeva could not live long to enjoy the newly acquired kingdom, for, he was attacked by Sulaiman Kararani of Bengal and was killed by a local traitor in A.D. 1568.[2] The death of Mukundadeva marked the end of the Hindu rule in Orissa with which we are concerned here. The Mughals, the Nazims of Bengal, the Mahrattas and the British then successively ruled Orissa, but she remained a benighted country with but little contribution either to the body politic of India or to the general Indian culture.



[1] R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 289 ff.
[2] Ibid. p. 345.

II

THE SOURCES

THE sources utilized in the present dissertation may be classified as follows:—

I. Existing monuments.

II. Stray and detached sculptural and architectural fragments of the monuments no longer in existence, which on close analysis appear to furnish important data.

III. Sanskrit texts in the nature of pilgrims's guides and the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, that contains historical traditions.

IV. Epigraphical records.

I. The existing monuments within the area of greater Bhubaneswar form the main source of our information and will be treated in their proper places.

II. Besides existing monuments, there is a class of materials such as detached sculptures or architectural fragments, now found in different parts of Bhubaneswar, belonging to the buildings that are no longer in existence. These materials of which scanty notice has so far been taken, when closely studied, are likely to provide some valuable data for the reconstruction of the history of art and architecture of the place. Not unoften on a careful analysis, they are found to have belonged to, or to have been associated with, monuments of earlier epochs that represent gaps in continuous chronological and stylistic development and as such their importance in bridging up the unknown hiatus is immense.

Although the traditional works exaggerate the number of temples built in Bhubaneswar to be ten millions or ten millions less by one, there is little doubt that there was a large number of temples of which many have perished in the course of its long history. The ruination or disappearance of a temple does not however always lead to the

abandonment of the shrine. Even in the present times, the practice has been to maintain the shrines at all costs, by repairing or renovating the ruined temples or by building smaller ones in their places and by continuing worship even in the dangerously cracked monuments. In spite of such attempts of the priesthood to keep the shrines alive, many have perished and there are many where worship has been discontinued due to the circumstances mainly arising out of the encroachment or acquisition of lands by cultivators and the builders of private houses. The usual fate of the ruined temples has been that their parts have been converted into building materials by the stone-cutters. Not unoften their best specimens have been carted away by the antiquity collectors. No record exists of the numerous sculptural specimens that have been carried away from Bhubaneswar, but the empty niches of most of the temples and the signs of deliberate breakage in their sculptured portions amply demonstrate the despoliation that has been carried on over a long period. The worst feature of the removal of the sculptures has been that they have been taken away as commodities without records or with such scanty records as can only identify them as hailing from Orissa or at the most from Bhubaneswar. Mr R. Chanda discusses and illustrates some images in the British Museum,[1] which he identifies as Orissan on stylistic considerations and cites the testimony of Kittoe and Prinsep to show how ruthless despoliation was carried on in the early British Period by the so-called antiquarians "to the direct perversion of the true object of research—the preservation of ancient monuments and their employment to elucidate the history of the country."[2] The hunt for antiquities for private collections or to adorn the galleries of museums in Europe, was started by European antiquity-collectors in the Early British Period and it was followed up by their Indian counterparts in later times. These persons in their craze for antiquity have done more harm to the monuments and sculptures of Bhubaneswar than centuries of neglect could have possibly done to them. Orissa having remained a Hindu kingdom till the third-quarter of the sixteenth century, her religious buildings mostly escaped the types of destruction to which the north-Indian monuments were subjected. But for the despoliation of the antiquity collectors, many of the images, if not other sculptured parts, would have remained attached to their original position at Bhubaneswar, for, due to a religious

[1] *Medieval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pp. 69 ff.
[2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, p. 280.

sentiment attached to them, it is the practice to preserve sculptures of older and ruined temples in the new ones built on the sites of the old ones, or to remove them to the nearest shrines.

To find out earlier sculptural remains, we should, therefore, more profitably search in the later temples, religious establishments and other parts of Bhubaneswar than in the museums of the neighbouring states in India or elsewhere, which cannot provide us with the details of the provenances of the specimens collected by them. An extensive search in this direction revealed a vast number of such sculptures in various parts of Bhubaneswar. Here, however, we must take a rapid survey of only those specimens which may later on come up for discussion because of their special chronological significance.

A group of three ruined temples known as Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara and Śatrughneśvara (Figs. 26-28) situated near the temple of Rāmeśvara, half-way between the Railway Station and the great shrine of Liṅgarāja, seem to have been the source of several detached sculptures to be found in the neighbouring places. An embankment built of the temple stones is to be found in the nearest field, from which several beautiful sculptural specimens have, of late, been removed to the Orissa State Museum. The temple of Chintāmaṇīśvara situated by the side of the road to Balianta contains some early sculptures of which an image of Gaṇeśa is in a good state of preservation. A group of images, of which two early images of Kārttikeya are most noteworthy, are to be found in a laterite enclosure in the village of Baḍagaḍa, that serves as the village shrine. The plinth of the Rāmeśvara temple itself is built of the temple stones bearing clamp marks in most cases and the earliest type of Chaitya arches in some cases. The temple also contains in its porch a good specimen of early Gaṇeśa and in the compound several sculptural fragments. It is not unlikely that the region round these three ruined temples was an early site and many of the early sculptures in and around the place might originally have belonged to these three ruined temples. The place might have a far greater antiquity, and in this connexion reference might be made to a huge bell-capital of the Aśokan type still lying in the tank, known as Aśoka Jhara, behind the Rāmeśvara temple (Fig. 7).

The temple of Uttareśvara, situated on the northern bank of the Bindusarovara tank along with eight other smaller temples, contains most interesting early sculptures which have not yet been properly studied. The temple has been rebuilt and treated with modern

mortar and plaster and the side-niches have been renewed and projected out of the main plan. Its *Jagamohana*, which is a close copy of that of the Vaitāl temple, contains in the front facade two images of *Dvārapālas* not in the usual positions of the door jambs, but on the walls on each side of the door facing the east (Figs. 30-31). On the southern wall of the *Vimāna* are to be found in the niches two images of Gaṇeśa, one standing and the other seated. In the western niche is enshrined a unique image of Kārttikeya, the only one of its type to be found at Bhubaneswar (Fig. 94). In a newly built niche on the northern side is to be found an image of Mahiṣamardinī and close to it, an image of Kāma with Rati and Prīti standing by his sides (Fig. 32). That these sculptures did not originally belong to this temple can be easily ascertained from the colour and size of the slabs containing them, which are quite different from their surrounding stones. Apparently they belonged to some other temple of which no trace is left. It is difficult to ascertain their provenance; the utterly ruined temple, Bhīmeśvara, that stands nearby, was in all likelihood a plain temple, because its door frame, still existing, shows no sculptures.

Five good specimens of detached sculptures are to be found in the small temples standing to the west and north of the Mukteśvara temple (Figs. 8, 114, 119). Of these, two are Nāgas holding foliated vases with their hands, two are Naṭarājas and one is the torso of a Durgā. The Nāgas bear sockets below their arms and clamp marks on their pedestals, which indicate that they were part of a structure, but the type of temple to which they belonged has not come down to us. Besides these two, there are two other Nāgas of similar type still to be traced at Bhubaneswar, but it is not possible to associate them with any of the existing temples.

Of the two Naṭarājas, the smaller one originally belonged to the temple of Mukteśvara, for, the three Naṭarāja sculptures still to be found on the three sides of the *Śikhara* are its close prototypes and the fourth, the eastern side, certainly contained the one under discussion. The bigger Naṭarāja image forms a grill which served the double purpose of window and decoration in the front wall of a *Jagamohana* which was similar to that of the Paraśurāmeśvara. The provenance of this specimen was most likely an early shrine at the site now occupied by the temple of Siddheśvara which stands nearby. Close observation will reveal that the Siddheśvara has been built on an earlier temple, of which three or four courses of stone sharply distinguished

from the rest by reason of different colour and fabric, still exist up to a height of two or three feet above the plinth. The sculptured portions of the earlier courses have been chiselled off, but one portion has inadvertently been allowed to exist (Fig. 9). The traces of an octagonal laterite wall which served as the compound of the earlier temple still exist and this compound provided the model for the one now to be found in the Mukteśvara.

The great shrine of Liṅgarāja has also become an asylum of a number of detached sculptures. Barring several late medieval sculptures which are to be found inside the great temple and some smaller ones standing within the compound, a few early sculptural remains are also to be traced in various parts of the temple enclosure. The most interesting specimens are to be found on the earlier architectural fragments of which a miniature temple standing to the west of the main shrine, has been built. The back slab of the miniature contains in low relief a beautiful image of Kārttikeya seated on a peacock with Brahmā and perhaps Viṣṇu standing by his sides (Fig. 96). Other specimens of early sculptures are the images of Hara-Pārvatī, Sūrya, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Lakulīśa which are to be found within the precincts of the compound (Figs. 109, 138). But it is difficult to determine the provenance of these early sculptures. The present temple of Liṅgarāja is a monument of the eleventh century, but a persistent tradition recorded in the orthodox Sanskrit texts, which we shall discuss later on, attests to the existence of a stone temple in this shrine in the early part of the seventh century A.D. The present temple is so stupendous and the remodelling of the shrine has been so thorough, that it is difficult to discover archaeological evidences about the existence of the earlier temple as is possible in the case of the Siddheśvara.

To the west of the Liṅgarāja temple and on the road to Khaṇḍagiri are to be found the remains of an earlier temple in the south-east corner of the enclosure of the Yameśvara temple. They consist of parts of an early *śikhara* temple and are visible from under the debris of a laterite building which seemed to have served as the kitchen or store-house of the present main temple (Fig. 29). Sculptured all over with Chaitya arches and lotus medallions as we find in the early temples, the antiquity of these fragmentary remains is beyond doubt. A few yards to the west of it, an image of Kārttikeya has been enshrined in a miniature temple and outside the compound in the east an image of Gaṇeśa is to be

found in a similar miniature temple built against the compound wall. Opposite to the Yameśvara temple is the building of the Bhāratī Maṭha which also contains a number of early sculptures. Fixed to the southern compound wall are to be found four images, of which two are of Hara-Pārvatī and the other two are of Lakulīśa (Figs. 125, 134). A colossal image of Gaṇeśa which, so far as dimensions are concerned, is comparable only to the great Gaṇeśa enshrined in the southern niche of the Liṅgarāja temple, is found in one of the miniature temples situated within the compound. Within the precincts, there are also two architectural slabs joined together, which contain lotus medallions and the images of Durgā of the earliest type and a Śiva *gaṇa*. The Bhāratī Maṭha itself seems to have been built of the materials of an ancient temple, as is evident from the two decorated door jambs fixed to its front part. The provenances of all these sculptures were, in all probability, the shrines of Mitreśvara and Yameśvara situated in the close vicinity of the *Maṭha*, of which the latter, as we have already seen, still contains the remains of an earlier temple.

Important collections of early sculptures are also to be found in the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara both situated within the same compound in the midst of the village. The former contains within its *Jagamohana* two images of Nāga holding foliated vases and one image of Mahiṣamardinī and the latter, only a Mahiṣamardinī. Since the images of Mahiṣamardinī are found fixed to the northern niches of these temples, these detached specimens must have been taken from the temples no longer in existence. The Nāgas like those in the Mukteśvara compound, present a problem in as much as they cannot be fitted to any part of the *Śikhara* or to other parts of the temples now in existence at Bhubaneswar. They certainly belonged to a type of temple of which no specimen has come down to us. The ruined Paśchimeśvara temple, of which only the plinth remains at present on the western bank of the Vindusarovara tank, has left some specimens of sculptures still to be found on the spot (Figs. 103, 110), and in the miniature temples on the eastern side of the same tank some more specimens are to be found.

The temple of Kapileśvara contains several early sculptures which, both from artistic and historical standpoints, are most important. One of them is a grill with dancing figures, now fixed to a laterite wall built, according to an Oriya inscription there in *San* 1273 (A.D. 1866) during the rule of Divyasiṁhadeva of Puri. It is of the same

type as that of the two stone grills to be found on either side of the western door-way of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple with the difference that it contains three but not two panels of figures. It leaves little room for doubt that it formed part of a temple of the Paraśurāmeśvara type, which has been taken to be the earliest temple of the place by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[1] Artistically the grills of the Paraśurāmesvara temple appeared to be so excellent to Mr Percy Brown that he has described them in the following words: "But one portion stands out as being a product of exceptional merit, namely the two stone grills one on each side of the west doorway (Plate LXXI, Figs. 2 & 3). These represent figures of young dancers and musicians with trumpet and with shawm, lute and cymbal, so grouped as to form perforated stone windows. In some respects these panels might be reproductions in stone of one of Della Rabbia's glazed terra-cotta reliefs, excelling even the work of that famous Florentine in their vigour and rhythm, and evidently the creation of one who left this brilliant work of art as the sole record of his inimitable genius."[2] Most likely Mr Brown did not notice the grill fixed to the laterite wall in the Kapileśvara temple or else he would not have called those in the Paraśurāmeśvara a sole record of inimitable genius, for, the figures of the Kapileśvara piece in their vigour, rhythm and linear treatment, far excel their parallels at Paraśurāmeśvara (Figs. 10, 11).

The other specimens of early sculptures in the Kapileśvara temple are the images of Durgā, Sūrya and Kārttikeya of which the latter two have been fixed to the same laterite wall. The shrine of Kapileśvara has been extolled in the traditional Sanskrit texts, which indicates that an earlier temple probably existed at the site of the present one.

The above brief survey of the detached sculptures relates only to the important specimens selected from among a vast number to be met with in the various parts of the place. Besides the temples and religious establishments, they are also found scattered all over the paddy-fields in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, particularly in the area between the temple sites in the west and the Brahmeśvara temple and Śiśupālagaṛh in the east. This particular area, which is now mostly occupied by cultivated fields, contains several low mounds, each of which represents the site of an ancient temple with remains of architectural and sculptural pieces. Along the banks

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 338-9.
[2] *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu* (First Edn.), p. 120.

of the river Ganguā which flows in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, several mounds formed of ancient ruined temples can also be located. A surface exploration in these areas conducted by the present writer in February and March 1950, resulted in the discovery of a number of beautiful temple sculptures and a search of the ruins in the close neighbourhood of the great temple of Liṅgarāja also revealed a few more specimens, which in all likelihood are earlier than the existing temples (Figs. 95, 104).

The earliest specimens of plastic art were, however, discovered in the areas beyond the limits of the present temple town. These specimens are mostly the Nāga and Yakṣa images having no connexion with the existing Brahmanical monuments and were found from the areas between the Brahmeśvara temple and Śiśupālagarh in the east and the Dhauligiri and Khaṇḍagiri in the west (Figs. 2, 4-5). All these detached sculptures and architectural pieces coupled with the numerous existing monuments with their vast wealth of sculptures, present an enormous mass of materials which have to be examined before any conclusions relating to the history of the place can be reached. Before utilizing them as a source of history, they have also to be placed in their proper chronological positions, a task which will be attempted in the succeeding chapters.

III. Some materials for the reconstruction of the history of the place, are also supplied by the four Sanskrit works, viz. the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya*, *Ekāmra-chandrikā* and *Kapila-saṁhitā*, which profess to deal with the origin and history of the notable temples at Bhubaneswar and with such other matters as the rituals, festivals and the merits that accrue from the worship of the particular deities. These works were copied from the old palm-leaf manuscripts and were for the first time published by Pandit Ratnakara Gargabatu of Bhubaneswar some twenty years ago. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Kapila-saṁhitā* have been noticed by Mr M. M. Ganguly,[1] but he seems to have missed certain traditions recorded in them, which can be utilized as the corroborative evidences for the purposes of history. Except some stray traditions giving definite historical and geographical names, other long stories given about the history of shrines, are, however, of no use to us, for, they attribute the origin and the construction of almost all temples to gods and supernatural beings. The origins of the shrines of Paraśurāmeśvara,

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 333 and 397 fn. Dr Rajendralal Mitra has also noticed all these Sanskrit texts except the *Ekāmra-chandrikā*. *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, pp. 62-3.

Brahmeśvara, Yameśvara, Rāmeśvara and Kedareśvāra, have, for instance, been attributed respectively to Paraśu-Rāma, Brahmā, Yama, Rāma and the mount Himavat, who have also been represented as the builders of the temples. These stories have obviously been invented to push back the origin of the shrines to hoary antiquity and the names of the actual builders, who were no doubt human beings, have been suppressed. There is thus no chance of extracting historical information from these stories except from the incidental references embedded in them.

However, in some respects they furnish us with some definite information. They tell us the names of the temples together with their respective distances and directions. They also give us an idea about the number of the temples that existed at the time they were compiled. Some chapters in these works have been intended as pilgrim's guides and as such the names of the temples given in them cannot be taken to be the concocted ones, although some names might have since then been changed. Besides, they record the details of festivals, conventions and rituals from which certain inferences can be made about the cultural history of the place.

These works seem to have been composed at different times, but none of them can be taken to be earlier than the third quarter of the thirteenth century, because, all of them make a mention of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva which was built in A.D. 1278.[1] The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the most comprehensive of all, seems to be the oldest and its phraseology has been borrowed by the other works, particularly by the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* and the *Ekāmra-chandrikā*. Again the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* has been referred to by the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* in its twenty-first chapter. The word *Mahāpatra* occurs in the concluding portion of the fifty-first chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and so far as is known, this word was for the first time used as the designation of the high officers towards the end of the Gaṅga Dynasty[2] and Kapileśvaradeva, the founder of the Sūrya-vaṁśī Dynasty, was a *Mahāpatra* under the last Gaṅga king.[3] So, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the earliest of these works, could not have been composed before the fourteenth century. The *Kapila-saṁhitā* mentions in the seventh chapter the temple of *Varāha* at Jajpur, the erection of which is traditionally attributed to Pratāparudradeva (A.D. 1497-1541). The internal evidences of these

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 150-5.
[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 284.
[3] Ibid. p. 289.

works thus show that they were composed during the Sūrya-vaṁśī Period, but they certainly refer to events and contain traditions, which are much earlier than the date of their composition.

The *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi*[1] by Vāchaspati Miśra which describes the notable sacred places of India, constitutes another Sanskrit work containing references to the numerous temples of Bhubaneswar. Unlike the authors of the other four works, Vāchaspati Miśra seems to have been an outsider, who acquired the knowledge of the Śaiva shrines at Bhubaneswar, probably by his visit to the place and by his study of the sacred literature connected with it. This is indicated by the fact that he does not show so thorough a knowledge of the topography of the place as the authors of the other four works do. Moreover his indebtedness to the traditional Orissan texts is proved by the fact that he has incorporated two verses from the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* without any change in the phraseology whatsover. The verses in question are:

Tasmin kṣetra-vare puṇye liṅgaṁ jad-dṛiśyate dvijāḥ ।
Pūjyā-pūjya-ñcha sarvatra vane rathy-āntarepivā ॥
Chatus-pathe śmaśāne vā yatra kutra cha tisṭhati ।
Dṛitṣvā tal-liṅgam-avyagraḥ śraddhayā susamāhitah.[2] ॥

The occurrence of these two verses in the *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi* also shows that its date cannot be earlier than that of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* and its author Vāchaspati Miśra cannot be identical with Vāchaspati Kavi, the composer of the *praśasti* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and his family, or with Vāchaspati Miśra, the well-known philosophical writer.[3] The consideration of the style and language used in the *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi* also leads to the same conclusion, for, its author has scarcely shown the high standard of poetry or philosophy as his namesakes have done. Another evidence which proves the lateness of this work is the fact that it refers to the temple of Koṇārka built in the reign of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1238-1264) in the following verse:

Tataḥ sūry-ālayaṁ gachchet puṣpa-mādāya vāg-yataḥ ।
Praviśya pūjayed-bhānuṁ kuryyāt-tat-triḥ pradakṣiṇam[4] ॥

The verse proves beyond doubt that the *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi* could not

[1] *Bibliotheca Indica*, a collection of Oriental Works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, No. 1256.
[2] Ibid. p. 179.
[3] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 320, Dacca University.
[4] *Tīrtha-chintāmaṇi*, p. 181.

have been composed before the middle of the thirteenth century and it also contradicts the theory that the temple of the sun at Koṇārka was never completed or consecrated.

All these works contain earlier traditions relating to the numerous temples of Bhubaneswar, but the late traditions are to be found in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, which has also been utilized in the present work.

IV. The epigraphical records have formed the fourth source of our information. Of these records, some have already been published, and some, though not published, have come to the notice of scholars, and a few others have recently been discovered by the author in course of his explorations at Bhubaneswar. All these records will be noticed in their proper places.



III

DATES OF SOME TEMPLES

THE large number of existing monuments and detached sculptures constitute an enormity of the archaeological material found at Bhubaneswar, which may be studied with profit for a connected history of the art and architecture of the place. For historical and archaeological studies, the process with regard to them should therefore be one of selection rather than of accumulation. Even the selected specimens cannot be utilized as a source of historical knowledge, unless they are placed in their proper chronological positions. It should not also be taken for granted that the detached sculptures are necessarily the earliest specimens of Brahmanical art of Bhubaneswar. Such a conclusion will go against the common experience which shows even in the present times, that while some later temples have fallen into ruin, others far earlier than them stand in a comparatively good state of preservation. First of all, we should, therefore, determine the dates of some monuments which will serve as the datum lines and from which we shall proceed and recede to determine the age of other monuments and sculptures of unknown dates.

Of the numerous existing temples, the dates of the construction of the Brahmeśvara, the Megheśvara, the Ananta-Vāsudeva and the Pāpanāśinī can be ascertained with a certain amount of exactness. By reason of the inscriptions appearing on them, the following temples may also be placed chronologically in so far as their age should not go beyond the date of the inscriptions themselves. They are the Śatrughneśvara, the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Vaitāl, the Śiśireśvara and the Kedāreśvara. Of these, the dates of the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Brahmeśvara, the Megheśvara and the Ananta-Vāsudeva have been discussed by scholars on the basis of epigraphic records. They will, therefore, be only re-examined. Regarding the dates of the remaining five monuments there have been discovered epigraphic and other

evidences which will be discussed here. The treatment here in this connexion will be a chronological one.

Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara

Prof. R. D. Banerji has drawn the attention of scholars to the inscribed labels giving the names of the planets on the door of the sanctum of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple and he utilizes them for ascertaining its date. He points out that according to the palaeography of the inscriptions on its door, the Paraśurāmeśvara, "the oldest temple in Orissa" cannot be earlier than the eighth century A.D. and that there is no temple in Northern, Central or Southern Orissa, which can be earlier than the Paraśurāmeśvara in date. According to him there is thus a gap of at least eight hundred years between the latest Jaina caves of the earlier group at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri and the earliest known temple in Orissa, namely the Paraśurāmeśvara.[1]

It is worth while to quote Prof. Banerji's remarks about the palaeography of these inscriptions, which has provided the basis of the date given to the Paraśurāmeśvara, a date which has since then been accepted and followed by scholars even in the latest works.[2] Criticizing Mr Ganguly, he says "Unfortunately for Mr Ganguly there is a class of evidence which no amount of artistic argument can shake. The Navagraha slab over the *antarāla* in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple is inscribed with the names of the planets and in these inscriptions a class of palatal *Śa* has been used which has not been found anywhere in Northern and Southern India before the eighth century A.D. This form of palatal *Śa* is used for the first time in the Pāla inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. In this form, the hook or arc, which forms the proper left limb of the letter, is not joined to the proper right limb, which is a straight line. It is, therefore, impossible to assign the building of the Paraśurāmeśvara to any date before the eighth century and that in the later decades of that century."[3] It appears that Prof. Banerji had not taken the impressions of these inscriptions nor examined them closely before he passed his remarks on their palaeography which has formed the sole basis of the chronology of all the early temples at Bhubaneswar. The facsimiles of the inscriptions reproduced by us in the *J.R.A.S.B*[4]., will show that the hooks or arcs which

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 340.
[2] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist & Hindu* (Ist Edn.) p. 118-19.
[3] Op. cit. pp. 338-9.
[4] Vol. XV, No. 2, 1949, p. 110 ff, Plates XII-XV.

form the proper left limbs of the two palatal *śas* in them are certainly joined to their proper right limbs which are straight lines. The inaccurate statement in this respect seems to have arisen from the fact that in the dark corner of the *Jagamohana*, he took the dental *sa* of the word Saṇiśchhara to be a palatal *śa* and attributed to it the peculiarities of a Pāla palatal *śa*. It is, however, a mistake of the scribe. There is more than one mistake in these few names, *viz*. Ādyata for Āditya, Brihaspati for Bṛihaspati and Saṇiśchhara for Śaniśchara. That he did not examine the inscriptions closely is also evident from the fact that he calls the slab containing the planets to be a Navagraha slab, although the number of the inscribed names is only eight, and in the slab there is no image of Ketu which is also conspicuous by its absence in all the early temples of Bhubaneswar, containing similar planet slabs.[1]

We shall now try to ascertain the real age of these inscriptions. Their reproductions will show that the letters in their totality can neither belong to the sixth century nor to the eighth or ninth century. They point to the main development of the Eastern Alphabet in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., of which the copper-plate inscription of Mādhavarāja II of Koṅgoda (Ganjam district), the vassal of king Śaśāṅka of Karṇṇasuvarṇṇa, provides us with typical specimens.[2] On a reference to the latest palaeographical chart prepared by Mr C. Sivaramamurti, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, it will appear that the form of palatal *śa* on which Prof. R. D. Banerji lays so much stress, cannot in any way tally with the same letter of the Pāla Period, although it can go back to the sixth or even fifth century. But the form of *ka* with a loop forming its proper left limb that we find in these inscriptions cannot possibly go back to the first quarter of the sixth century when it was formed of two intersecting lines, of which the horizontal one had become curved. The looped form of *ka* is a characteristic of the seventh century A.D. The letters *ṇa*, *sa* and *ra* can in no way belong to the Pāla Period, although they can go back to the sixth century. Since the letters in their totality closely resemble those of the copper-plate inscription of Mādhavarāja II, dated in the year 300 of the Gupta Era corresponding to A.D. 619 it will

[1] Mr. R. Chanda, while referring to these inscriptions also speaks of "the nine Grahas or planets (including the Sun, the Moon and Rahu and Ketu)." He like, Prof. Banerji, assigns the inscriptions to the eighth century A.D. These conclusions are no doubt based on insufficient observation and examination. *Archl. S.I.R.* 1923-4, pp. 119-22.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.

be better, if they are assigned to the first or second part of the seventh century A.D., which should also be taken to be the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.

The present writer for the first time noticed the inscriptions[1] similar to those of the Paraśurāmeśvara on the Śatrughneśvara which is one of the three ruined temples standing in a row, from north to south, near the temple of Rāmeśvara, half-way between the Railway Station and the great shrine of Liṅgarāja. This ruined temple is now only a mass of rubble with a few sculptures still adhering to the basement, but the inscribed eave originally attached to its southern niche containing the images of eight planets, provides epigraphical evidence that enables us to give it an approximate date. The planet slab was half buried in debris and jungle, but recently it has been removed to the Orissa State Museum. Of the eight inscribed names, only those of Soma, Buddha, Bṛihaspati and Śukra have been fully preserved and the remaining ones have broken off. It would have been possible to compare these inscriptions with those of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, had they all survived. Nevertheless, the palaeographical indications are that they are earlier than those of the Paraśurāmeśvara. A comparison of the test letter *śa* will show that in the Paraśurāmeśvara inscriptions, the arc or hook which forms the proper left limb of the letter, has at the bottom a triangular loop which developed into a circular one in the later period, but in the Śatrughneśvara inscriptions, the same arc or hook has no loop whatsoever. In the Paraśurāmeśvara inscriptions, the letters *ha* and *ta* show more developed forms than those of the same letters in the Śatrughneśvara inscriptions. The only letter which shows a common form in both the inscriptions, is *ka*, but this form of *ka* with a circular loop as its left limb may be found to occur, though as a rare instance, even in the latter half of the 6th century. We may refer in this connexion to the copper-plate inscription of Pṛithivī Vigraha discovered from the Ganjam district, which is dated in the year 250 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 569.[2] Taking into consideration all these palaeographical indications, the temple of Śatrughneśvara may better be assigned to a date earlier than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara, possibly the latter half of the sixth century A.D.

Various dates have been given by scholars to the group of three

[1] *J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 110 ff. and Plates XVI-XVII.
[2] The Sanskrit Magazine, *Manoramā* (Sīromaṇi Press, Berhampore, Ganjam), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 18 ff. and Plates; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 79 and Plate.

temples of which the Śatrughneśvara is one. Mr Percy Brown puts them at the end of the temples assigned by him to *c.* A.D. 750 to 900 thus suggesting that they belonged to the ninth century.[1] Mr M. M. Ganguly takes them to be the temples constructed by Harivarmadeva of Bengal belonging to the first quarter of the eleventh century.[2] On consideration of their architectural peculiarities, Prof. R. D. Banerji assigns them to the ninth century.[3] The planet slab forms an essential and indispensable ritualistic element of a temple and the palaeography of the inscription on this essential element certainly constitutes a definite basis for ascertaining the date of a particular monument. It appears therefore that the various dates assigned to the Śatrughneśvara group by different scholars lack confirmation. The palaeography of the inscriptions on the planet slabs in the Śatrughneśvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara constitutes important data as to the dates of these monuments, which are to be assigned to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. respectively.

There is still another source which supports the dates given to the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara and Śatrughneśvara. It is a tradition recorded in the four Sanskrit works of which we have spoken in the second chapter. This tradition credits Saśāṅka with the building of a tempie in the shrine now represented by the great temple of Liṅgarāja. As in all Purāṇas, the tradition has been put in the form of a prophecy, but that it contains the germs of historical truth, admits of little doubt on close examination. Śaśāṅka has been referred to in these works as Chandra or Chandramā and sometimes by his real name as Śaśāṅka and in one verse he has been represented as the lord of a portion of the earth extending up to Kaliṅga. The last-named reference leaves little room for doubt that Chandra, Chandramā or Śaśāṅka of these texts was no other person than Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, who was the overlord of Koṅgoda, as is evidenced by the copper-plate grant of Mādhavarāja II of the Śailodbhava Dynasty.[4] In view of their importance, we quote below the translations of the relevant verses of these texts. The Sanskrit originals with their contexts have been published in *J.R.A.S.B.*[5]

Chapter 13 of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* gives a conversation between Śiva and Brahmā in the Satya Age, in which the latter expresses his desire to build a temple for the former, but Śiva chooses to remain in open ground and says:

[1] *Indian Architecture* (First Edition), p. 119.
[2] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 391-2.
[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 353-6.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
[5] Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 114-18.

"With the coming of the Kali Age, Chandra will go to the earth and having become the lord of men (the king) he will worship the *liṅgam*."

"He, who is of good determination, will cause a beautiful, white and purifying stone temple to be erected and a great worship performed."

"He, who is famous, well-known, and engaged in the daily worship of Śiva, will establish this *liṅgam* of Tribhuvanesvara in accordance with my command."

"O Brahman, you know me to be this stone *liṅgam* that can neither be seen nor touched."

"Śaśāṅka with his heart attached to Śiva, will be infinitely intelligent and will worship with diligence all the *liṅgams* that exist on the earth."

"O Vivudheśvara (Brahmā), (Śaśāṅka's) temple (*kīrtti*) will endure (lit. remain unhurt) in this world. O Pitāmaha, it is difficult (for you) to do (i.e. to construct a temple for me); (so) your efforts are useless."

In Chapter 48 of the same work, Śiva in course of his conversation with the Bālakhilyās speaks as follows:

"When one quarter of the Kali Age has passed away, Chandramā will go to the earth."

"My devotee Śaśāṅka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed on none (except in me), will rule a portion of the earth extending up to Kaliṅga."

"According to my command, he will construct a massive and beautiful temple, hearing the voice of the gods. O the best of ascetics, you have (now) heard (this all) well."

Again in Chapter 50 of the same *Ekāmra Purāṇa* we find a reference to Śaśāṅka. Rāma, son of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, desirous of building a temple for Śiva, wanted to fix up a site in Ekāmra. To acquaint him with the situation, Vaśiṣṭha speaks as follows:

"O king, the past tradition is that Śaśāṅka will cause it to be done."

"So, O the best of the kings, construct a temple elsewhere."

"When the high-souled Vaśiṣṭha was speaking this, an invisible voice descended from the sky (which spoke thus)."

"O, Rāma, the long-armed Rāma, the promoter of the pleasure of the gods and the expert in the knowledge of the worship of Śiva, please hear my best words. Chandramā dropped down from (my) crown will not soon go to the earth."

In Chapter 14 of the *Svarṇṇādri Mahodaya*, when Brahmā expresses his desire to build a temple for Śiva, the latter directs him to build it at the site now represented by the Brahmeśvara temple, but reserves his own site (the site of Tribhuvaneśvara) and speaks as follows:—

"It will not be done by your hand; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it."

In Chapter 9 of the *Ekāmra Chandrikā*, the same tradition is recorded as follows:—

"Do not build the temple here; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it."

In Chapter 16 of the *Kapila Saṁhitā* also, Lord Tribhuvaneśvara is found to have made the same refusal to Himavat, the king of the mountains:

"Why have you asked for a thing which was not available to the gods such as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Yama and Varuṇa? The temple (of mine) is impossible to be constructed; in the Kali Age Chandra will do it."

It will thus be seen that the tradition about Śaśāṅka having built a temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara is persistent in all the four Sanskrit works that profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from an orthodox standpoint. If this tradition has any value, it shows that stone temples existed at Bhubaneswar during the age of Śaśāṅka to which we have assigned the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara on palaeographical grounds. We are not in a position, however, to identify the particular temple built by Śaśāṅka in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara. Considering the developed and finished form of the Paraśurāmeśvara, it is highly likely that it had its predecessors like the temple of Śatrughneśvara and even others indicating an early and initial stage of formation. The evidences furnished by the palaeography of the inscriptions and the testimony of the tradition thus support each other and as such the dates assigned to the temples of Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara on the basis of the palaeography of the inscriptions on the planet slabs should be taken as conclusive. It is not, however, concluded that any of these temples were built by Śaśāṅka. All the four works agree in crediting him with the building of a temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara or Liṅgarāja. The present temple of Liṅgarāja and the other temples situated within its compound are much later structures and it is not possible to assign any of them to the time of Śaśāṅka. It seems that the temple built by Śaśāṅka has been replaced by the present great temple of

Liṅgarāja. Replacing old temples by new ones was a regular process at Bhubaneswar, of which some examples have been cited in the last chapter. We have also shown that several early sculptures are still existing within the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple, some of which might have originally belonged to the earlier temple that has been replaced by the present one. According to our calculation, the difference between the dates of the earlier and present temples of Liṅgarāja will be about four centuries. This period may not appear too short a period for such a change in view of the fact that the present temple of Jagannātha at Puri built by Ananta-Varman Choḍagaṅga and his successor Anaṅgabhīma in the twelfth century, replaced the earlier one built by Yayāti Keśarī (Yayāti I) in the tenth century A.D. It seems that the priests could influence the powerful kings to replace the older structures in important shrines by the newer and better ones, even though the older ones were not completely ruined.

VAITĀL AND ŚIŚIREŚVARA

The palaeography of the inscriptions on the Śatrughneśvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara supplies the clue to the respective dates of the temples themselves, as the inscriptions on the planet slabs which are necessary parts of the structures, were certainly coeval with their construction. A temple as a living monument is, however, apt to receive inscriptions in different periods of its existence, and inscriptions with no reference to its construction may at best serve as archaeological guides to the history of the shrine. For an idea about the approximate date of such a temple, these inscriptions are also of some help in as much as the earliest of them supplies the latest chronological limit beyond which the date of its construction cannot go, and with such date combined with other evidences it may be possible to ascertain approximately the date of the creation of a particular temple.

The temple of Vaitāl bears two inscriptions on its *Jagamohana* of which one engraved on the outer face of the northern wall is in Proto-Oriya script, and cannot therefore be earlier than the thirteenth or the fourteenth century A.D., but the other incised on the outer face of the wall near the right-door jamb in the east, is in the characters of a much earlier period. It consists of a single line, recording "*Oṁ Śrī Chaṁndrā Uḍaḥ.*"[1] I am unable to interpret the meaning of the inscription which might have been a name or a mystic formula, but

[1] *Arts asiatiques*, Paris, Tome IV, fascicule 4, 1957, p. 292, Fig. 21.

what is most important to us, is the fact that palaeographically it can be placed in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The test letter palatal *śa* of the inscription is certainly later than the same letter of the Paraśurāmeśvara inscription.[1] The arc or hook which forms its proper left limb, is not joined to its proper right limb, which is a straight line. The horizontal line which joins both the limbs in the Paraśurāmeśvara inscriptions, is found here in the form of a spiral. This peculiarity of the palatal *śa* is to be noticed in a slightly earlier form in the Image Inscription of Śubhākaradeva and the other common feature is the medial *ī* in *śrī* which is to be found exactly in the same form in both. Śubhākaradeva of the Image Inscription has been identified by Mr A. Ghosh with Śubhākaradeva I of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty[2] and Mr S. C. De has supported this identification by adducing further reasons.[3] The form of the palatal *śa* in the Vaitāl temple, which is slightly in advance of the form of the same letter in the Image Inscription of Śubhākaradeva I, may place the Vaitāl inscription about a century later. The existence of the temple in the 8th century A.D. thus admits of no doubt.

It is possible again to associate the Vaitāl temple with the art movement started by the Bhauma-Karas in Orissa. The rule of the Bhauma-Karas over the region around Bhubaneswar is proved by inscriptions existing in the nearest hills of Dhauli[4] and Udayagiri.[5] The Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa was marked by an unprecedented growth of art and architecture. The Puṣpagiri Vihāra which was seen and described by Yuan Chwang,[6] rose to a prosperous and magnificent establishment under the patronage of the Bhauma-Karas. It is now represented by the ruins to be found in the Udayagiri, the Lalitagiri and the Ratnagiri hills of the Cuttack district.[7] The vast ruins to be found in these hills have proved to a veritable mine of beautiful Buddhist sculptures[8] and several specimens taken from them have now found place in the Indian Museum,[9] Calcutta,

[1] *J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XV. 1949, p. 114, Plates XXII-XV.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 247 ff.
[3] *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, pp. 66 ff.
[4] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 11; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX pp. 263-4.
[5] Ibid. p. 10; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 167.
[6] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 193-4.
[7] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 6.
[8] The Bengalee Magazine, *Prabasī*, 1335 (B. S.) Vol. XVIII, Part I, No. 6, pp. 811-18. And also see *Hist. of Orissa* (R. D. Banerji), Vol. II, pp. 385 ff; Plates facing pp. 392,393,396,397,404,405,408 and 409.
[9] *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 13 and Plates; and *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 386-7 and Plates facing pp. 392,393 and 403.

Patna Museum[1] and the Musée Guimet at Paris[2]. A collection of sculptures along with a door frame was also removed from this area to Cuttack by Mr John Beams and most of the specimens of the collection are now to be found in the modern shrines at Cuttack near the Ravenshaw College and Bania Shahi.[3] Some monuments of these hill tracts have now been declared to be protected ones, and they no longer serve, as Prof. R. D. Banerji has said, "as a quarry for railways and the only locality from which the collectors still find it possible to cart away the priceless objects of art for their collections."[4] But no systematic excavation or exploration has yet been carried on in this area. The images so far discovered from this area all belong to the Buddhist Mahāyāna pantheon and as Mr Ramaprasad Chanda has said, "may be safely attributed to the reigns of Śubhākara and his Buddhist predecessors," because some of these images "bear inscriptions in letters of the same type as those used in the copper-plate grant of Śubhākara."[5] The wealth of sculptural and architectural remains so far discovered point to the magnificence of the establishment and a systematic and scientific exploration is expected to yield more.

Virajā, now represented by the modern town of Jajpur in the Cuttack district, was the capital of the Bhauma-Karas[6] and it also formed another centre of art, of which hundreds of specimens are still to be found in various parts of the town, used or kept in the modern temples or other types of shrines. A colossal image of Padmapāṇi which scholars take to be a specimen of the Bhauma art, has been kept in a shed in the Sub-Divisional Officer's compound[7] in Jajpur town. The village Khaḍipadā in the Bhadrakh Subdivision, situated about six or seven miles from Jajpur, also contains the ruins of the Bhauma Age, and from them six large-sized Buddhist images have been removed to the Orissa State Museum. Among them there is one of Avalokiteśvara containing an inscription of the reign of Śubhākaradeva.[8] Along the river Chitrotpalā in the

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XVI. p. 841.
[2] The sculptures lent for a time to the Museum of the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, by Mr A. K. Ghosh, have eventually found place in a museum at Paris; *Hist. of Orissa* (Banerji), Vol, II, pp. 386-7 and Plates between pp. 392-7.
[3] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 44. For their reproductions, see the *Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1940, Plates VI and VII and also *Arts asiatiques*, Paris, Tome IV, fascicule 4, 1957, p. 276, Figs. 1 and 2.
[4] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 385.
[5] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 8.
[6] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 87.
[7] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 2.
[8] *Procs. of Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1949, pp. 66 ff and the Plate.

Salepur Police Station of the Cuttack district, several Buddhist images apparently belonging to the Bhauma Age, are still to be found, and in the Dharmaśālā Police Stations of the same district, several collections of Bhauma art are also to be found in the villages of Nilādeipur and Chahaṭā and in the Gokarṇeśvara temple on the river Brāhmaṇī. The Gokarṇeśvara temple has practically been turned into a small museum by the Raja Sahib of Madhupur with the images mostly Buddhist, such as Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Parṇna-Śavarī, Dhyānī Buddha and other Tāntrik deities. These sculptures were evidently taken from the nearest hills containing Buddhist ruins, of which one known as Duburi near Nilādeipur *Śāsan*, still contains the remains of a *stūpa* with railing pillars and coping stones scattered all over it. There is every likelihood that similar remains can also be found in other hills. The remains of the Bhauma Age can also be traced in the hilly tracts of Orissa, such as at Talmul in Angul, Bāṇeśvara Nāsi in the defunct State of Narasinghpur, at Baudh[1] and at Kupāri[2] in the Bhadrakh Sub-division of the Balasore district.

These numerous examples so far traced by casual explorations, will give us an idea of the immense wealth of art and architecture that was produced during the Bhauma Period. That some of the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty were responsible for the building of the *maṭhas*, monasteries and temples, is evident from the references in their inscriptions.[3] It will, therefore, be unreasonable to think that Bhubaneswar, which was apparently included within the Bhauma Kingdom as the inscriptions at Dhauli and Udayagiri testify, did not feel the impress of this mighty movement. It is true that no epigraphical record that can definitely connect any of its numerous ancient buildings with a Bhauma-Kara ruler, has yet been discovered. There are evidences, however, that may connect a few of the buildings still existing at Bhubaneswar, with the art movement inaugurated and fostered by the Bhauma-Karas in other parts of Orissa.

The Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara temples at Bhubaneswar present certain features and motifs in their decoration which offer significant

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Plate between pp. 388 and 389.

[2] J. A. S. B. Vol. XL, 1871, pp. 247. Mr John Beams who visited the place in 1871, refers to certain Buddhist monuments and images there, but the present writer who visited the place in 1951, found nothing of Buddhist origin. All temples and images still to be found there are Brahmanical.

[3] *Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhubana Mahādevī* refers to her predecessors as having "decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity various maṭhas, monasteries and temples." Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 28.

analogies with the sculptures that can definitely be attributed to the Bhauma culture epoch. In this connexion a door frame originally brought to Cuttack from Lalitagiri by Mr John Beams and now preserved in the Patna Museum[1], constitutes an eloquent and instructive example. That the door frame belongs to the Bhauma art epoch admits of no doubt. Its place of origin, stylistic considerations like ornamental features and motifs etc. safely assign it to be a specimen of Bhauma art so prolific in its output as we have already shown.

The door frame has at the bottom of each jamb the image of a Nāga holding a foliated vase in both hands. In the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar the door frame shows exactly the same motif at the bottom. In each the Nāga figure has a canopy of serpent hoods over the head, plain bracelets, pearl necklaces and waist chains. Even the knot of the hair over the head of each is similar (Figs. 14, 24). The much constricted space in the door frame of the Śiśireśvara temple might have been responsible for the slightly different stance exhibited by the figure, but the motif as a whole represents a counterpart of the same in the Lalitagiri door-frame. The style and execution of the figure in each is also similar. It may be noted that the Śiśireśvara is the only temple at Bhubaneswar, which contains Nāga figures in the door jambs. In the jambs of both the door frames again, two of the ornamental bands are analogous in conception and execution. In each they consist respectively of the conventional forms of the lotus placed one above the other in a vertical row and the ornamented lozenge-shaped designs. The second figure in the Lalitagiri door-frame, standing to the proper left of the Nāga, is a door-keeper, of which a prototype is to be found on the body of the Śiśireśvara, serving as the door-keeper of a Naṭarāja carved on the front facade (Figs. 14, 15). A comparison of these figures leaves no room for doubt that they were the products of the same epoch. Both stand cross-legged, with their left hands on the staffs placed on the ground and have similar types of ornaments. In fact, it seems that the manner of standing and other details as exhibited by the door-keepers in the Lalitagiri door-frame, were peculiar to other door-keepers to be found in the Bhauma monuments. It is significant hence that the female door-keepers holding fly-whisks that are to be found in the *Jagamohana* of the Śiśireśvara and the sanctum of the Vaitāl bear these striking peculiarities. Like their male counterparts in the Lalitagiri door-frame, they stand cross-legged with their

[1] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 44, p. ll, Plate III, 3; Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Plate between pp. 64-5 and *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XVI, p. 841.

left hands holding the fly-whisks and right ones on the hips; and what is more noteworthy in them is the fact that they wear a type of armlets which are similar to the ones to be found in the door-keepers of the Lalitagiri door-frame (Figs. 14, 25). Miniature figures standing cross-legged and with their hands respectively on the staffs and the hips are also to be found in a sunken panel running round the body of the Vaitāl temple and the arrangement of their hair and the pearl necklaces worn by them are also strikingly similar to those of the door-keepers in the Lalitagiri door-frame (Figs. 14, 16).

Above the images of the Nāgas and the door-keepers in the Lalitagiri door-frame, we find in a vertical row some amorous couples standing cross-legged. The same types of amorous couples standing almost in the same manner are also to be found in the Vaitāl temple (Figs. 13, 16, 17, 18). On the lintel of the Lalitagiri frame, we find two mutilated figures which are most probably of Avalokiteśvara, each holding a lotus. Similar figures occur below the image of Naṭarāja carved in the front facade of the Śiśireśvara, notwithstanding the fact that it is a Śaiva temple (Figs. 12, 23, 117). The Chaitya arches with borders of beads, the *Kīrtti-mukha*, the capitals of the pilasters made of foliated vases with lotus bases, which are found on the lintel and the jambs of the door frame, have their exact prototype in the Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara temples (Figs. 12, 13, 16, 49, 50). Another decorative motif occurring on the jambs of the Lálitagiri door-frame is a pair of pouncing lions, facing opposite to each other and with a *Kīrtti-mukha* in between dropping strings of pearls. This motif frequently occurs in the Vaitāl temple with the difference that the pouncing lions each have a rider (Figs. 13, 51, 52). The flying *Vidyādharas* carrying garlands that occur in a horizontal row on the Lalitagiri lintel, are also the common motifs on the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara. Thus, a comparison of the decorative designs on the Lalitagiri door-frame and those on the Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara temples at Bhubaneswar reveals that there is no important motif in the Lalitagiri door-frame that does not occur on these temples. The remarkable correlation between the decorative motifs of the Lalitagiri door-frame and those of the Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara temples, leads us to one evident conclusion that the door frame and the temples were the products of the artists who had received training in the same school and tradition of art.

There are again other evidences which prove the connexion of these two temples with the Bhauma culture tradition. These evidences

are furnished by the religious influences which the Bhauma tradition, primarily inspired by Buddhism, had cast on the Śākta and Śaiva temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara.

Carved in bold relief and partially mutilated are to be found two images on the southern wall of the Śiśireśvara *Jagamohana* (Figs. 20, 21). One of them is a figure of Lakulī seated in preaching pose (*Dharmma-pravartana-mudrā*) with a *lakuṭa* or club placed on his right shoulder and with his six disciples seated on the side panels. The pedestal is occupied by a *tri-ratna* super-imposed with a lotus and flanked by a deer and a Nāga on each side. If we put a wheel in place of the lotus we get a complete Sāranātha device (a wheel flanked by deer) which is distinctly a Buddhist symbol. A sculptor trained in the Buddhist tradition and accustomed to carve a Sāranātha device on the pedestals of the Buddha images, has, by force of practice, allowed himself to carve the same device here and then has tried to camouflage it by putting a lotus in place of a wheel. It is to be noted that neither a canonical prescription nor a precedence of occurrence exists to allow such a device to be carved on the pedestal of a Śaivite image.

The second image is that of Amogha-siddhi whom the Nepalese Buddhists consider as the fifth Dhyānī Buddha.[1] It sits in the *samādhi* posture with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over its head and holds a vase in the left hand and a *japāmālā* in the right (Fig. 21). That in the medieval times a form of the Buddha had been conceived with a canopy of seven hoods over its head, is proved not only by the image under consideration, but also by another image, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, which has also a canopy of seven hoods over its head and a Sāranātha device (a wheel flanked by two deer) on the pedestal (Fig. 22). The Sāranātha device unquestionably proves its identity with the Buddha. The Orissa Museum image originally belonged to Khaḍipadā[2] which, as already observed, was one of the centres of Bhauma art and from which six Buddhist images have been removed to the Orissa State Museum, including one of Avalokiteśvara containing an inscription that refers itself to the reign of the Bhauma king Śubhākaradeva.[3] Since the Khaḍipadā image with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over the head and a Sāranātha symbol on the pedestal, was discovered in association with such Buddhist images as Dhyānī Buddha, Vāgīśvara and Avalokiteśvara, its

[1] Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 5, Plate VIII C.

[2] Subsequent enquiries indicate that no definite record exists about the exact provenance of this image.

[3] *Proceedings of the Indian Hist. Congress*, 1949, pp. 66 ff. and the Plate.

identification with Amogha-siddhi cannot be doubted and consequently its prototype occurring on the Śiśireśvara temple should also be taken to be a representative of the same Buddhist divinity. An Amogha-Siddhi of the Śiśireśvara type with the same attributes and even with the same details of representation, also occurs on the northern inner wall of the sanctum of the Vaitāl temple.

A few more images, distinctly of Buddhist origin, are also to be found on the Śiśireśvara temple. One such image, now very much mutilated was most likely of Jambhāla, the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera. The other is an image of Avalokiteśvara carved on the northern outer wall of the sanctum. It holds in the left hand a lotus with a stalk rising from the pedestal in the usual fashion of the Avalokiteśvara images discovered from Khaḍipadā, and has also the same types of ornaments and top-knots of hair (Fig. 19). A comparison of this image with that from Khaḍipadā bearing the inscription of Śubhākaradeva,[1] leaves little doubt that both are the products of the same school of art. Even some Brahmanical images have been given the appearance of the Buddhist deities. An image apparently intended as Brahmanical, carved in a shallow niche below the Naṭarāja figure occupying the front facade, exhibits in the manner of its sitting and in the lotus with a stalk to the proper right, analogies with the figure of Avalokiteśvara (Figs. 23, 117). Some Buddhist influences are also to be noticed in the friezes which occur on the cornices of the *Jagamohana* and which depict various incidents of Śiva's life. One sleeping figure in the eastern cornice very much resembles the Buddha usually depicted in a Nirvāṇa scene of the Buddhist sculptures.

Buddhist tradition has not failed again to impose some of its architectural peculiarities on the Śākta and Śaiva tempes of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara. The Vaitāl Deul is not a *sikhara* type of temple, although its predecessors at Bhubaneswar like the Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara were almost the finished products of that type. This bold departure from the traditional form must be traced to an external force which Mr Percy Brown has attempted to explain in the following words:

"But the Vaitāl Deul is a very different conception, and derives from another and entirely different tradition (Plate LXXII, Fig. b). For it is obvious that the tower of its sanctuary is not only allied more

[1] *Proceedings of the Indian Hist. Congress*, 1949, Plate.

to the southern style as exemplified by the Dravidian Gopurams, but like those structures, its original ancestor was the Chaitya hall of the Buddhists."[1]

Whether the architectural form of the Vaitāl owes its origin to the Dravidian Gopuram, or to the *Rathas* of Mahāvalīpuram, or to the Buddhist Chaitya hall, is a problem which should be solved with reference to the cultural age in which it was erected. We shall have occasion to dwell upon its architectural peculiarities at some length, but here it is enough to say that, in view of the foregoing discussions about the Buddhist influences on the sculptures of the Vaitāl and the adjacent Śiśireśvara, and in absence of any evidence of the Dravidian influence on any of them, it will be most reasonable to conclude that the Vaitāl Deul owed its form to a Buddhist Chaitya hall and that such a Chaitya hall existed in the Puṣpagiri Vihāra, the centre of the Bhauma art and architecture.

Another architectural peculiarity which seems to be an influence of the Bhauma school on these temples, is to be noticed in the side-niches made in the outer walls which enshrine the side-deities (*pārśva-devatās*), such as Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Durgā in the case of a Śaiva temple like the Śiśireśvara. In the earlier temples represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara these side-niches contained images carved out of single blocks of stone, which in consequence have mostly been removed by antiquity collectors. But in the Śiśireśvara and the Vaitāl and their cognate members, the technique was different and these side-deities were carved out of two or three blocks of stone lying in the two or three courses of the walls. They were thus made part of the walls, so that unless the temples containing them were totally ruined, they could not be removed. This technique was neither preceded nor followed in any other group of temples at Bhubaneswar, but it was certainly peculiar to the Bhauma tradition, because all the colossal Buddhist images that have been removed from the Puṣpagiri area, Khaḍipadā and other centres of the Bhauma art, or that are still to be found there, have all been built in sections.[2]

The influences of the Bhauma tradition on the art and architecture of these two temples are thus clear and apparent and these, combined with the palaeographical evidence furnished by the short inscription on the Vaitāl, place us on surer grounds to assign them to the

[1] *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu) First Edn., p. 121.
[2] R. D. Banerji, op. cit. p. 385. Plates between pp. 396 and 397 and pp. 388 and 389.

Bhauma epoch. It may be noted that the correlation established between the Bhauma tradition and these temples, has been based more on the identities of the motifs and their execution. We have traced certain predilections of the sculptors and architects employed in the other Buddhist centres of the Bhauma culture and have found them transplanted at Bhubaneswar. Moreover, the craftsmen employed in the construction of the Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara were imbued with the Buddhist tradition and have therefore carved certain sculptures on the Brahmanical temples, in a manner that reminds one of the well-known Buddhist image forms. They have also introduced certain Buddhist motifs and symbols in them, which, in spite of certain changes, betray their Buddhistic origin. The determination of the age of these two temples further enables us to find out their cognate members from among the numerous temples of Bhubaneswar, which will be attempted in the succeeding chapters.

Brahmeśvara

The Brahmeśvara temple had a commemorative inscription recording the date of its erection. The history of its discovery and subsequent vicissitudes is bound up with two other commemorative inscriptions, attached to the temples of Megheśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva, both situated at Bhubaneswar. The unscientific search for historical materials in the Early British Period, to which we have alluded in Chapter II, resulted not only in the displacement of these epigraphs, but also in the loss of one for ever. The inscription originally attached to the Brahmeśvara cannot now be traced and must be taken for lost. A reduced facsimile produced by Mr Prinsep, the first editor of the epigraph,[1] is the only record now left of this document. The inscribed slab originally attached to the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva, is now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.[2] The third inscription, that of the Megheśvara, has been detached from its original place and now fixed to the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva along with another similar inscribed slab which contains a *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal.[3]

Of late there has been much discussion about these commemorative inscriptions, particularly with regard to the real provenance of

[1] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. VII, 1838, p. 557, Plate XXIV.
[2] *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIII, p. 63.
[3] Ibid.

the *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. In two of his articles, one published in the Oriya magazine, *Sahakāra* (Vol. XV, No. 6) and the other in the English magazine, *Prāchī* (Vol. III, Part I), Mr K. N. Mahapatra was the first to show that the inscription of Chandrikā Devī, now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, was the original inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and that the *praśasti* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa did not belong to the same temple, nor to Bhubaneswar or Orissa. Mr P. Mukherji accepted this discovery in the following words:

"K. N. Mahapatra has tried to show that Chandrikā's inscription was the original inscription of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva and the present inscription in the temple is a spurious one. Mr Mahapatra deserves praise for his critical observation."[1] In two more articles,[2] Mr P. Acharya dealt exhaustively with the circumstances connected with the removal of the two commemorative inscriptions to Calcutta and their subsequent restoration to Bhubaneswar in 1837. He has shown that it was possibly General Stuart who was responsible for the removal of two epigraphs from Bhubaneswar to the Museum of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and that due to the insistence of the priests for their restoration, three inscribed slabs were sent back to this place by the Society at the request of Major M. Kittoe in 1837. The despatch of three inscribed slabs for restoration in place of two which was the original number of the inscriptions taken from Bhubaneswar, leaves enough margin for creating a doubt about the provenance of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription now fixed to the compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. Mr Acharya has further shown with reference to its internal evidence that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription could not have belonged to the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva and that it possibly belonged to a temple in Bengal. These conclusions have been accepted by scholars,[3] and there is now hardly any necessity for dilating upon the details of the unfortunate miscarriage of this epigraph to Bhubaneswar and the subsequent misapprehensions that it created, leading to the wrong dating of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple by all early writers.

About the disappearance of the Brahmeśvara inscription not much is known except that it was seen and noticed by Dr Rajendralal Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II (pp. 87-90). He did not notice

[1] *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, p. 32.
[2] *Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1939, pp. 287-318 and *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 63-73.
[3] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 202, fn. 3, Dacca University.

the Megheśvara inscription which, however, was found in 1895 by Mr N. N. Basu[1] in the same position that it occupies now in the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. It is thus apparent that the Brahmeśvara inscription was lost some time during the interval of the visits paid to Bhubaneswar by these two scholars.

The internal evidence contained in these inscriptions enables us to correctly identify the temples to which they originally belonged. The facsimile of the slab which is now lost, contains in verses 12 and 13 a reference to the temple of the god Brahmeśvara, built by Kolāvatī, mother of Uddyota Keśarī, along with four *Charu-śalā* temples at a place known as Siddha-tīrtha in Ekāmra[2] or Bhubaneswar. This description of the temple as given in the above verses leaves no doubt about its identification with the Brahmeśvara situated about a mile to the east of the Liṅgarāja temple, in an enclosure and with four smaller temples on its sides. The inscription which is fixed to the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple along with that of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, refers itself to the temple of Megheśvara in verses 22, 26 and 28 and states that a tank was also excavated by its side by the builder Svapneśvaradeva.[3] This leads us to a temple of the same name situated with a tank by its side, about a quarter mile to the east of the Brahmeśvara temple. The epigraph preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, clearly states in verses 10-15 and 21-22 that Chandrikādevī, daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva, built a temple for Śrī Kṛiṣṇa and his elder brother Vala or Vala-vāsa on the bank of Vindusarovara,[4] and this is evidently the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva now on the eastern side of the same tank.

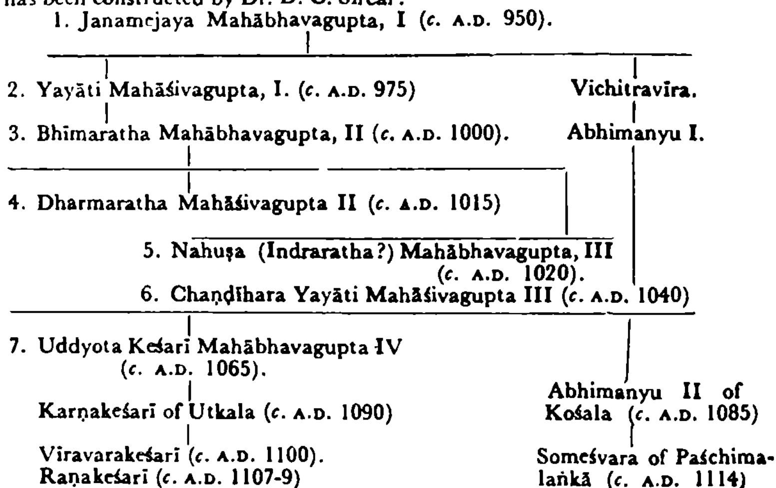
Of these three epigraphs, henceforth referred to as the Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva inscriptions, the last is accurately dated in the Śaka year 1200 (A.D. 1278),[5] and the second, the Megheśvara inscription, gives us a date which offers little possibility for a big margin of error. The Brahmeśvara inscription recorded the 18th year of the reign of Uddyota Keśarī, but since the chronology of the Somavaṁśī dynasty to which Uddyota Keśarī belonged, is still unsettled, the exact date of the erection of the Brahmeśvara temple by Kolāvatī, mother of Uddyota Keśarī, is difficult to ascertain. The

1 *J. A. S. B.* 1897, pp. 11-23.
2 *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 70.
3 *J. A. S. B.* Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 278 and Ibid. 1897, pp. 11-23.
4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 150-5.
5 Ibid.

epigraph itself had not been properly read by Pandit Kamalakanta Vidyalankar who helped Mr Prinsep in deciphering it and restoring the letters damaged or broken off. He even misread the names of two kings as Dīrgharava and Apāvāra,[1] which were for the first time corrected to Bhīmaratha and Dharmmaratha by Pandit Binayak Misra in his article on the *Narasingpur Copper-plate Grant of Uddyota Keśari.*[2] The inscription has been re-edited and commented upon by Mr P. Acharya and the amended text with editorial notes from Dr D. C. Sircar may be taken as the fairly correct reading of the original.[3] But a serious mistake has been discovered by Dr D. C. Sircar in the genealogical table of the Somavaṁśī kings, worked out by Pandit Misra and also adopted by Mr Acharya. Dr Sircar has shown that verse 6 of the Narasingpur Copper-plate Grant of Uddyota Keśarī as interpreted by Pandit Misra, is wrong and has led to some unwarranted assumptions.[4] The correct interpretation of the verse in question as given by Dr Sircar will be acceptable to all students of Sanskrit and we therefore accept the genealogy constructed by him on the basis of this correction.[5]

But the dates assigned by him to the different rulers of the dynasty will continue to be problematic, so long the Somavaṁśī chronology

[1] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62.
[2] *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, 1929, pp. 1-24.
[3] *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. XIII; No. 2, pp. 68-71.
[4] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-7.
[5] Ibid. The following chronological and genealogical table of the Somavaṁśī kings has been constructed by Dr. D. C. Sircar:



is not based on some undisputed evidence. The copper-plate inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī kings bear only regnal years. This makes us entirely dependent on the palaeography of their inscriptions and on a certain synchronism which again cannot be said to be of an undisputed character. Two earlier eminent epigraphists, Dr Fleet[1] and Dr Kielhorn[2] placed the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries on palaeographical considerations, but Dr D. C. Sircar on a closer examination has found it possible to assign them to the tenth century A.D.[3] Dr S. K. Aiyangar[4] and Mr P. Acharya[5] have attempted to identify Ādinagara mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chola with the Yayātinagara of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. The identification hardly requires any discussion, because in four of the inscriptions referring to the exploits of the Chola king Rajendra I, the name has distinctly been given as Yayātinagara[6] and the variants, found in other inscriptions should, therefore, be attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. The real difficulty lies in the identification of the king of the ancient race of the moon who is said to have been defeated by Rājendra Chola in a fight at Yayātinagara. Since the name of the king of the ancient race of the moon was first read by Dr Hultzsch as Dhiratara,[7] Mr Acharya has tried to identify him with Dharmaratha of the Somavaṁśī dynasty.[8] But the identification would appear untenable in view of the fact that Dr Hultszch subsequently changed his own reading into Indiradan.[9] Of the inscriptions describing the exploits of Rājendra Chola, one at least mentions the name of the king of the ancient race of the moon defeated by him as Indraratha, and others refer to it in a form that can easily be restored as Indraratha. We give on the next page the different readings of the name of Yayātinagara and the king of the lunar race as they occur in all the inscriptions. It appears that Indirarada or Indirarata, the form frequently found, was a Tamilan corruption of Indraratha.

Although the names of Yayātinagara and Indraratha can thus be obtained from the Chola inscriptions, it is really difficult to identify

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 347 ff.
2 Ibid. Vol. IV, pp. 258 ff.
3 *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XX, March, 1944, p. 81.
4 *Sir Asutosh Mukherji's Silver Jubilee Vols.*, *Orientalia*, Part II, pp. 541-87.
5 *Journal of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XX, Part I, pp. 1-12.
6 See p. 46.
7 *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 99.
8 *Journal of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XX, Part I, 1941, p. 12.
9 *S. I. I.* Vol. II, p. 108.

Indraratha with any known king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty. At best we can hazard a guess, as Dr D. C. Sircar has done,[1] that Indraratha was probably another name of Nahuṣa, the fifth king of the dynasty, because the names of his two immediate predecessors, Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha, also ended with *ratha*. If this identification is accepted, we may take the year A.D. 1022 or 1023 as the end of the reign of Nahuṣa-Indraratha, because Rājendra Chola's invasion has been assigned to a period from A.D. 1022 to 1024 and because it is stated in the Tirumalai inscription that he "captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagara, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline."[2] Since there is no mention of the release of the captured king Indraratha, it appears that his reign ended with this invasion. That a calamity overcame the family after Dharmaratha is also indicated by the Brahmeśvara inscription, which significantly enough, does not refer to Nahuṣa. Verse 6 of the inscription states that on the death of the Rājamalla (the best of the kings, i.e. Dharmaratha) without issue there was a time when the kingdom was being laid waste by various warriors and the valiant

These readings have very kindly been supplied to me by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

No.	*Find spot of inscription and its date*	*Reference*	*Name of the king of the Lunar Race*	*Name of his Capital*
1.	Tiruvālaṅgādu:	*S.I.I.* III, p. 400, text, 11, 229-31	Indraratha	Not mentioned
2.	Tirumalai: Year 12	*E.I.*, IX, p. 232, text, 1.8	Iradara	Ādinagara
3.	-do-	*S.I.I.*, I. No. 68, text, 11.15-16	Iradarada	-do-
4.	Tirumalavāḍi: Year 14	Ibid. V. No. 651, text, 11.22-24	Indirarata	Yayātinagara
5.	Tirukkalukunram:	Ibid. No. 464, text, 11. 12-13	Indirarada	Ayātinagara
6.	Tirumalavāḍi: Year 16	Ibid. No. 635, text, 1. 16	Indira(ra)ta	Yayātinagara
7.	-do-	Ibid. No. 636, text, 11. 14-15	Indirarada	-do-
8.	Tiruppurambiyam: Year 16	Ibid. VI, No. 30, text, 11.29-30	Indiratilada	Ayātinagara
9.	Tirumalavādi: Year 17	Ibid. V. No. 637 text, 11.10-11	Indirada	Yayātinagara
10.	Kūlampandal: Year 22	Ibid. VII, No. 1047, text, 11.2-3	Indirarada	damaged
11.	Tirunāgeśvaram: Year 30	Ibid. VI, No. 33 text, 11.28-30	Indirāda	Yādinagara
12.	Tiruvorriyūr: Year 31	Ibid. V. No. 1354, text, 1. 15	Indirarada	Yatinagara

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1946, p. 303. [2] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, pp. 248-9.

hero (i.e. Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti) was living abroad.[1] It appears that the *praśastikāra* intended to pass over this period of distress with only a casual reference end thought fit not to mention the name of the monarch who fell a victim to outside aggression. It is also not impossible that Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti, who ultimately revived the fortunes of the family, was obliged to leave the kingdom due to these reverses.

If we take the year 1023 as the end of the reign of Nahuṣa-Indraratha, we may put the end of the next reign, that of Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti II, about A.D. 1043. Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti was a younger cousin of Nahuṣa and Nahuṣa was a brother of Dharmaratha.[2] It is reasonable, therefore, to think that the intervening period of anarchy that followed the death of Nahuṣa-Indraratha and the total length of the reign of Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti did not cover more than twenty years. While accepting the genealogy as given by Dr D. C. Sircar, we therefore make slight changes in the dates assigned to Uddyota Keśarī. His reign in all probability began about A.D. 1043 and so the date of the Brahmeśvara temple which was constructed in the eighteenth year of his reign as mentioned in the Brahmeśvara inscription, will be about A.D. 1061. We shall try to discover later on another clue to the chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings, better known as the Keśarī kings in the legend and traditions of Orissa, and shall show that the dates assigned to them by Dr D. C. Sircar are substantially correct.

Kedāreśvara

The Kedāreśvara temple has two inscriptions engraved side by side on the right entrance wall of its *Jagamohana*. Of the two, one has been very much damaged and it is almost impossible now to decipher the whole text, but the second is in a tolerably good state of preservation. Both the inscriptions however give the same date and mention the names of Ananta-Varman Choḍagaṅgadeva and Rājā Pramāḍīdeva. Pandit Binayak Misra refers to them in his *Oḍiśār Itihāsa* and Mr N. K. Bose makes a mention of the date of the Kedāreśvara temple on the basis of the information supplied to him by the same Pandit.[3] The better preserved inscription with a facsimile has now been published.[4]

[1] The English translation of the verse as given by Mr P. Acharya does not appear to be correct. *J.A.R.S.B.* Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 69 ff.

[2] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1946, p. 301. [3] *Proc. of the 36th I.S.C.* Part II, Presidential Address.

[4] *The Orissa Hist.* R.J., Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1 ff.

The inscription opens with "*Oṁ Śakasya gatavarsaṇāṁ daśānāṁ śatānāṁ chatu(ṣa)shṭhi samvatāṁ*" and then it discloses that Rājā Pramaḍīdeva, younger brother (*sānuja*) of Śrī Ananta-Varman Choḍagaṅgadeva, gave a perpetual lamp before the god Kedāreśvara and granted a village (the name illegible) in the Paidā *viṣaya* for its maintenance. The inscription is therefore dated in the Śaka year 1064 (A.D. 1142) when the temple must have existed and acquired fame as an important shrine. There are however certain architectural and sculptural developments to be noticed in the body of the temple, which prevent us from making it a cognate member of the Brahmeśvara temple built in *c.* A.D. 1061. In all probability it was built in the declining period of the Somavaṁśī dynasty or in the early part of the Gaṅga rule in Orissa, and so the date of its construction should be placed in the last half of the eleventh century or the first half of the twelfth.

Megheśvara

As has been stated above, the temple of Megheśvara had a commemorative inscription originally attached to it, which is now fixed to the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. The epigraph discloses that the temple of Megheśvara was built by Svapneśvaradeva, son of Ahiraṇa and grandson of Mūladeva.[1] Svapneśvaradeva was the commander-in-chief of the Gaṅga army and he seems to have served in that capacity under two Gaṅga kings, Rājarājadeva II and Anaṅgabhīmadeva II. It is stated in the epigraph that Suramā, the sister of Svapneśvaradeva, was married to Rājarāja II, the son and successor of Choḍagaṅgadeva. Rājarāja II is known to have ruled from A.D. 1170 to 1190,[2] but since Svapneśvara also served under Anaṅgabhīma II (A.D. 1190-1198), the successor of Rājarāja II, there is also the possibility of his having built the temple in the reign of Anaṅgabhīma. The date of the erection of the Megheśvara temple cannot be accurately fixed, but it can safely be assigned to the closing years of the twelfth century.

Ananta-Vāsudeva

As stated above, the original commemorative inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple is now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. It was first

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 198-203.
[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 254-5.

edited by Mr Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-5. It is stated in the epigraph that a temple was built for Śrī Kṛisṇa and Vala-vāsa (Valarāma) on the bank of Vindusarovara by Chandrikādevi, daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, in the Śaka year 1200. The date of the completion of the temple has been given in verse 13 as "*vyoma—viyat—phaṇīndra—rasanā—chandra—*" (*vyoma*=0, *viyat* =0, *phaṇīdra—rasanā*=2 and *chandra*=1. Reversing the digits we get 1200). The epigraph further discloses that Anaṅgabhīma married his daughter Chandrikā to Paramardīdeva, the ornament of the Haihaya family, but Paramardī, after having successfully fought with the enemies of Narasiṁhadeva I, ultimately went to heaven. It seems that the husband of Chandrikā fell fighting on the battlefield and after his death the widowed lady built the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva for Achyuta for whom she is represented to have developed a devotion from her childhood.

Pāpanāśinī

The temple of Pāpanāśinī situated in the close vicinity of the Liṅgarāja temple, contains an inscription which was for the first time noticed by the present writer.[1] It is engraved on the base of a panel of sculptures showing an elephant procession (Fig. 82) carved in a niche in the southern side of the porch of the Pāpanāśinī compound. The inscription, which consists of only two lines and is mutilated at some points, is in proto-Oriya characters very similar to those used in the copper-plate grant of Puruṣottamadeva (A.D. 1470-97).[2] The first line records the name of Śrī Kapileśvaradeva and the second, his 17 *aṅka* and a name which is loṣt, and the words *raṇaśūra-mahāsenāpati* towards the end of the epigraph. The inscription served as the label of the panel showing the elephant procession, of which the man sitting on the largest elephant heading the remaining two, has two parasols, one held over his head by a man sitting behind him and the other held up by a footman walking ahead. The parasols indicate the high rank of the person, seated on the elephant, who was, in all likelihood, the commander-in-chief of the army of Kapileśvaradeva, referred to in the inscription as *raṇaśūra-mahāsenāpati*. At any rate, since Kapileśvara ascended the throne in 1435,[3] his 17 *aṅka* recorded in the second line of the epigraph, when calculated according

[1] *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 1 ff and the Plate.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I, pp. 355 ff and the Plate.
[3] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 289.

to the mode of counting the regnal years adopted by the Gajapatis of Orissa, gives the year A.D. 1449, which should be taken to be the date of the Pāpanāśinī temple. Secular figures are rare on the religious structures and only kings, queens and the builders of the temples had the privilege of being featured on them. So, it seems most likely that the temple of Pāpanāśinī was built by the commander-in-chief of the Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva. Kapileśvara's connexion with Bhubaneswar is further proved by another inscription edited by Mr M. M. Chakravarti,[1] originally attached to the outer door of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple, and now preserved in the Bhubaneswar office of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India. In this inscription Kapileśvara commands all the subordinate rulers of his empire to remain faithful to the paramount sovereign and threatens them with dire consequences if they act contrary to his desire.

From the discussions of the dates of nine temples given above, it will appear that the period between the earliest and latest dated temples, is about nine hundred years, during which many other temples besides the dated ones were built at Bhubaneswar. Before attempting to ascertain the chronological positions of the undated temples and detached sculptures, some of which may even be earlier than the earliest dated temple, it is necessary to be acquainted with the architectural and sculptural peculiarities of the dated ones, so that with the known characteristics of the dated monuments, we may be in a position to determine the age of the undated ones.



[1] *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, p. 92-100.

IV

ARCHITECTURAL PECULIARITIES OF THE DATED TEMPLES

IT is difficult to ascertain the shape of the earliest temples which are no longer in existence and to which some of the detached sculptures must have belonged. Certain architectural parts, now detached, indicate that they originally belonged to buildings that have not come down to us. These buildings might have represented the earlier tentative efforts which finally led to the growth of the *Śikhara* temple. We have already spoken of the two Nāga images with elongated sockets and clamp-marks and of these, other prototypes can also be traced at Bhubaneswar (Fig. 8), but these Nāga figures cannot be assigned to any part of the existing types of temples and evidently they belonged to a type of structure of which no example has come down to us.

However, the *śikhara* type ultimately became the dominant form of temple architecture at Bhubaneswar and the earliest temples, now extant, represent the mature products of that type. But the Orissan temple architecture by reason of its own distinct individualities and a long history of evolution, soon came to acquire for itself a distinct nomenclature, viz. the Kāliṅga. Prof. R. D. Banerji has drawn our attention to an inscription of the pre-Muslim period in the temple of Amṛiteśvara at Holal in the Bellary district, in which mention has been made of four classes of temples, Nāgara, Kāliṅga, Drāviḍa and Veṣara.[1] Prof. Banerji's view has further been supported by another scholar, Mr D. P. Ghosh, who has shown that certain well-marked

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 335,

peculiarities distinguish the Orissan group of temples from the *śikhara* temples of Northern India, Central Provinces, Rajputana, Guzerat and Kangra.

But the Kāliṅga type should be taken to be a sub-class of the Nāgara style rather than a class by itself, inasmuch as both Kāliṅga and Nāgara temples possess curvilinear spires and square plans with projected angles. In Orissa the cube of the sanctum, originally divided into three vertical sections as in the temples of *Nāgara* style, gradually became divided into five and this, together with the provision of the *aṅga-śikharas* on the *anurāhā pāgas*, constitutes the distinct characteristics of its temple type. Orissa supplies us with one of the most forceful architectural movements in Northern India, the best representative being the mighty Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar. Another equally brilliant movement is furnished by the temples in Central India, culminating in the majestic Kaṇḍaryā Mahādeo temple at Khajuraho. Each of these movements represents a regional manifestation of the Nāgara temple style, and has certain common features being derived from the same archetype. On account of the emergence of local characteristics, the two are separated from each other and the comparison of the two as the best of the regional manifestations of the Nāgara style may be found interesting.

The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and the Kaṇḍaryā temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand[1] represent respectively the most finished products of the Kāliṅga and Central Indian types of the Nāgara style and were almost contemporary. The Khajuraho temple stands on a higher platform and is supported by a higher basement. The pillared side chapels and massive round piers embedded in the wall, provide additional features and stability to the temple structure. The orderly repetitions of the miniature *śikhara* become an element of decoration, besides being additional supports to the main and central *śikhara*. The total effect of all these architectural devices has been to strengthen the central structure and make it a compact and organic whole with the side ones though the unbroken continuity of the *śikhara* has been dissolved by the separate volumes given to the miniature *śikharas*. The Liṅgarāja temple, on the other hand, has not these strengthening factors, but what has apparently been a loss, has added to its grace and dignity. Without a plinth or platform the temple abruptly rises from the ground level and goes up in almost

[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist & Hindu* (1st Edn.), p. 122 and pp. 129-33.

vertical sweep with the rows of miniature *śikharas* forming part of the wall surface but not dominating it. Stability has been secured by the intrinsic strength and unbroken contour of the tower itself and not with the help of the side structures.

The earliest dated temple, the Śatrughneśvara (*c*. A.D. 575), is now only a mass of rubble, but since it is not far removed in date from the well-preserved Paraśurāmeśvara, both appear to have possessed close architectural affinities. What is lost in one can therefore be made out from the other. The Śatrughneśvara certainly possessed a *śikhara* or curvilinear tower, which is now indicated by the core formed of rubble, standing almost to the same height as that of the Paraśurāmeśvara (Fig. 26). The *vimāna* or the perpendicular parallelopiped cube which supported the curvilinear tower, is now almost buried in debris. The existence of a *Jagamohana* or porch facing the west is attested by the remains of its rectangular plinth. The Śatrughneśvara thus possessed all the main elements of a full-fledged *śikhara* temple, viz. a *Vimāna*, a *Śikhara* and a *Jagamohana*.

Its constructional peculiarities are also the same as those of the Paraśurāmeśvara. The corbelled arch above the door-way, is now revealed as a chasm. This architectural device was meant to create a vacuum over the horizontal beams forming the roof of the door-way which otherwise had no strong support from below. Mr N. K. Bose thinks that the cor belled arch was meant to reduce weight on the lintel,[1] but since in all examples it occurs at a point far removed from the perpendicular position of the lintel, the device does not appear to have been intended to have any relation with it. The shape of the so-called arch was determined by the height of the roof of the sanctuary. The two adjacent early examples, the Śatrughneśvara and the Lakshmaṇeśvara, bereft of all facing stones, but with this architectural device now fully revealed, demonstrate its shape and utility beyond any doubt (Figs. 26, 27).

Since the facing stones have all fallen off, the cella of the Śatrughneśvara is now much lighted and so the technique of the construction of its roof can be studied without any inconvenience. The roof has no iron beams to be found in the later temples, but in their place is to be found a single broad and massive architrave with its ends embedded in the northern and southern walls and above it are to be found six flat slabs on each side of their support, placed east to west

[1] *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 121.

in horizontal rows with their ends resting on the architrave on one hand and merging in the eastern and western walls on the other. The tower above the roof is a hollow pyramid which tapering upwards forms a solid block at the top. The inner face of the core is smooth and it presents the appearance of ashlar, but the outer face shows indentations which together with the iron clamps were evidently used for the interlocking of the sculptured stones that formed the outer face of the temple. The ground plan of the *Jagamohana*, as is evident from the existing plinth, was rectangular like that in the Paraśurāmeśvara.

The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 650) shows the same structural peculiarities and also provides us with an opportunity to study the form of the *Jagamohana* which is in a good state of preservation (Fig. 140). The temple was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works Department[1] in 1903, and in the process, much of the original construction of the roof in the cella has been disturbed; but nevertheless, its original shape and form have been preserved to some extent. The arrangements followed in the roof or storey of the cella in these two early examples and their cognate members, are suggestive of the storeys (*āṭus*) formed of wooden beams and planks to be still found in the mud houses of villages. The *Jagamohana* is a rectangular structure with a clerestory, plain massive eaves, perforated stone windows and two doors. The interior of the structure which is a pillared hall, is therefore, more lighted than the later *Jagamohanas* with only one door and two balustraded windows.

The *pāgas* or pilasters which are one of the main features of the Orissan temple architecture, are not found to have been fully developed in the Paraśurāmeśvara. In the main temple they appear more as shallow buttresses than as the pilasters of the later periods. Nevertheless, the architectural principle of projection in each face on which the later builders relied so much, is to be found in its beginning. We may call the temple a *tri-ratha* type, in which the fully decorated pilasters, one central (*rāhā-pāga*) and two corner ones (*koṇika-pāgas*), alternate with reserved interspaces, but not with deep recesses with the figures of *gaja-siṁha* as in the later temples. Each of the pilasters contains a niche, the central one containing the largest and the other two, two smaller ones of equal dimensions. Because of

[1] Arnott, *Report with photographs of the Repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhubanesuar and caves in the Khandagiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, India, between 1898 and 1903*, Plates 24-8.

the door of the sanctuary occupying the position of the central niche in the front facade, the total number of niches has been eleven, but in the later temples their number was reduced to only three, corresponding with three central projections on three faces. In each of these eleven niches was enshrined a deity carved out of a single block of stone and otherwise unattached to the main structure. It is due to this technique that most of the deities have been removed, excepting the images of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya still to be found in the central niches of the south and the east.

The designs in the tower are ones of Chaitya arches with medallions or shallow niches, all containing Śaivite images or scenes from Śiva's life. The designs are stereotyped and repeated in all the four facades with equal emphasis. In the corners half-*āmalakas* occur in every three courses of stone and to them we may trace the origin of the *aṅga-śikharas* that constitute such a prominent feature in the later temples. A sunken panel marking the transition between the perpendicular parallelopiped cube and the curvilinear tower, runs round the temple and contains mostly the amorous couples and diamond-shaped designs. The crowning members of the *śikhara* are an *āmalaka*, a *kalasa* and a *liṅgam*, but not an *āyudha* as in the later temples. All designs, decorations and deities occur in bas-relief but not in *alto-relievo* and in this respect they are more reminiscent of their distant ancestors in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves than of their prototypes in the later temples. The interiors of both the temple and the *Jagamohana* are severely plain.

These earliest examples of temple architecture at Bhubaneswar raise certain problems relating to the evolution of the *śikhara* temples in India. Are they the earliest examples of the type or have they any predecessors anywhere in India? Since they have come down to us in their mature form without any signs of tentative efforts, they must have also a history of experimentation. Unfortunately, the existing temples at Bhubaneswar do not supply us with any example of that progressive stage. The earliest extant example of the *śikhara* is to be seen in the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh in the Jhansi district which has been assigned to the late Gupta Period by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[1] "In this example we see an effort to throw off the rudimentary and rather ineffective convention of the flat roof, and to obtain some appearance of height. Accordingly, the upper part of the sanctum

[1] *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 136.

was carried upward in the form of a pyramidal tower, but unfortunately the summit is too ruined for its detailed shape to be made out, although its height when entire could not have been less than 40 feet."[1] The date of the temple is not based on any unquestioned evidence. The style exhibited by its sculptures has been the sole basis for determining its date and evidences of style are apt to lead to wide divergence of opinions. Prof. R. D. Banerji places it between A.D. 551 and 605[2] and Mr Percy Brown dubiously takes it to be a product of the early part of the sixth century A.D.[3] The difference is not wide enough and the temple may be placed in the sixth century A.D.

Because of the mutilated state of the *śikhara* over the Deogarh temple, its shape and form have to be reconstructed from such evidences as still exist. That the *śikhara* was furnished with angle-*āmalakas* may be known from an early reproduction of the temple given in *Ancient Monuments, Sculptures and Temples of India* by James Burgess.[4] From such occurrence it is reasonable to assume that the top, now entirely gone, was also crowned by an *āmalaka*. The existence of the temple of analogous shape and form during this period is also testified to by sculptural representations of *śikhara* temples belonging to this period (Cf. one in the Mathura Museum). Early *śikhara* temples may also be found widely distributed over Northern India and the Deccan, though the dates of such temples are not always easy to ascertain. The early temples of Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhubaneswar might have been inspired by the examples at Deogarh and other places, though the possibility of a similar parallel movement in Orissa representing the early stages of evolution, may not be entirely precluded.

It has been a puzzle to many scholars as to how the complete forms in which many of the existing specimens of Indian architecture are found, could have been possible without a history of their progressive evolution. Dr V. A. Smith observes: "All authors who treat Indian architecture, notice, and are embarrassed by the fact, that each style, when it first comes to our knowledge, is full grown and complete. The earliest specimens betray no signs of tentative effort and in no case is it possible to trace the progressive evolution of a given style from rude beginnings."[5] These remarks are particularly true with regard

[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu* (1st. Edn.), p. 57.
[2] *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 136.
[3] *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu* (1st Edn.), p. 57.
[4] Figs. 248 and 252.
[5] *A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, p. 113.

to the early temples of Bhubaneswar and other places. Mr Percy Brown has tried to solve the puzzle by tracing the origins of different types of architecture to their wooden models. The illustrations produced by him are in many cases convincing and instructive, but unfortunately the wooden model which he illustrates as the derivative of the *śikhara* temple,[1] does not accord with the actual form of the *śikhara* type. The model which is "a stepped pyramid, truncated above and crowned by a ribbed stone"[2] resembles a type of temple which was definitely of late origin at Bhubaneswar and appears for the first time, as the porch of the Mukteśvara much later in date than the Paraśurāmeśvara.[3] In the canons of Orissan architecture it is known as the *Piḍhā* or *Bhadra*[4] type which is first found as the porch of the main *śikhara* or *rekhā* temples and then as an independent unit (Fig. 142). The porch in the Paraśurāmeśvara and in the members of its succeeding group, is a low *maṇḍapa* which has not the slightest resemblance to the wooden model illustrated by Mr Brown (Figs. 140-141). It cannot therefore be taken to be the derivative of the earlier *śikhara* temple.

Most likely the *śikhara* temple took its shape from the wooden *ratha* or pagoda which is used in the car festivals annually held at Puri and Bhubaneswar in the months of July and March respectively. Although the date of the origin of the festival cannot be fixed accurately, it is doubtless that it goes back to early antiquity. We shall show later on that the car festival at Bhubaneswar is associated with one of the earliest shrines and possibly both originated at one time. Curiously enough the term *ratha* is also still associated with one of the principal features of an Orissan *rekhā* or *śikhara* temple, namely the *pāgas* or pilasters, according to the number of which the different varieties of the same type are known as *tri-ratha*, *pañcha-ratha*, *sapta-ratha* and *nava-ratha* temples.[4] The association of a *śikhara* temple with a *ratha* is further attested to by the great Koṇārka temple which was actually built as a wheeled car.[5] What is however most significant is the fact that even now the carpenters, before building a new pagoda for the car festival at Bhubaneswar, take the measurements of the Bhāskareśvara temple and shape it accordingly. In fact,

[1] *Ind. Architecture, Buddhist & Hindu* (1st Edn.), Plate XLVI (4).
[2] Ibid. p. 78
[3] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 350, Pl. between pp. 320-1.
[4] N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 79-80, Pl. between pp. 132-3.
[5] Ibid. pp. 125 ff.

that stone temple of Bhāskareśvara situated at Bhubaneswar was intended to serve as a permanent model for the wooden *ratha* or pagoda to be made for the car festival.[1] There is therefore ground to think that either of them was the derivative of the other. Wood being a more easily workable material, the possibility is that the stone temple derived its form from the wooden pagoda, the earliest examples of which were most likely made of bamboos. The description of a *rekhā* or *śikhara* temple as given by Mr N. K. Bose, the author of *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, bears out this supposition:

"The Gaṇḍi of the Rekhā rises straight up to a short height and then begins to curve inwards at an increasing rate. The line so formed presents the appearance of a tall bamboo-post which has been slightly bent towards the top by a rope tied tightly at the upper extremity."[2] It seems most likely that the pagodas or *rathas* were first made of bamboo posts tied together at the top, from which the shape of the curvilinear tower of a stone temple was derived, but of the crowning members, namely the *āmalaka* (fluted finial) *kalasa* (pitcher), *āyudha* (weapon) and *patākā* (flag), the first one was altogether an innovation in a stone structure apparently derived from a wooden pagoda, and was introduced to meet some definite architectural purpose. The *āmalaka* that crowns the top of a *śikhara* temple is certainly intended to serve as a sort of balance to keep the structure properly centred. Lest its own weight should carry it down, it is also provided with supports from below, and these supports are generally found in the shape of animal and human figures, such as lions, *madirachāriṇīs* and some gods or goddesses.

Whatever might have been the derivative of the *śikhara* temple, it is doubtless that it continued to be the principal type up to the last limit of the temple-building period at Bhubaneswar and all the dated and datable temples, except one, are found to be the products of the same type. While the continuity of the tradition has thus been preserved, in each stage of the development of the type, certain innovations, modifications or improvements have been introduced and these constitute the peculiarities that mark out one group from the other and also enable us to pick out their cognate members. The next dated temple Śiśireśvara (Fig. 47) (*c*. A.D. 800) is a prototype

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Pl. between pp. 328-9.
The Bhāskareśvara temple, however, represents the latest type of pagoda, the earlier form of which might have been like a *rekhā* or *śikhara* temple.

[2] *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 79.

of its predecessors, but it has some peculiarities of its own, and these peculiarities are to be noticed in the *pāgas* of the *Vimāna*, in the new orientations of the niches enshrining side-deities, in some innovations introduced in the outer face of the *śikhara* and in the modifications of the roof of the *Jagamohana*. The *pāgas* in the cubical portion of the temple are still undeveloped and as in the Paraśurāmeśvara, they appear as flat projections or shallow buttresses, but their number has increased to five and the total number of niches carved in each *pāga* with a deity in each has also become five. The central or *rāhā-pāgas* contain as usual the largest niches enshrining the images of Gaṇeśa in the south, Kārttikeya in the west and Mahiṣamardinī in the south, and the smaller niches in other *pāgas* contain other gods or goddesses or decorative figures. A noteworthy feature of the images enshrined is that, unlike their counterparts in the niches of the Paraśurāmeśvara, they have all been made of two or three blocks of stone contained in two or three courses of the walls. They have thus been made part of the walls with the result that none of the side-deities is missing from the Śiśireśvara or its cognate members. The new technique, as we have already said, is to be traced to the centres of the Bhauma tradition of art and architecture, where the colossal images are found to have been built in sections.

While these peculiarities provide a contrast, the Śiśireśvara is otherwise linked with the Paraśurāmeśvara by possessing almost a similar type of *śikhara*. The Chaitya arches, half-*āmalakas*, shallow niches and medallions that decorate the *śikhara* of the Paraśurāmeśvara are to be found in the similar positions of the Siśireśvara also. The only innovation is a rectangular niche that occurs in the *rāhā-pāgas* and that occupies the position of the largest medallion of the Paraśurāmeśvara. A sunken panel with amorous couples carved in it also marks the transition between the cubical portion and the curvilinear tower. The summit is ruined, but with a reference to cognate temples, it can safely be concluded that it possessed the usual crowning members.

The *Jagamohana*, like that of the Paraśurāmeśvara, is a rectangular structure with a clerestory which has fallen down and with massive eaves fully sculptured with the battle scenes and episodes from Śiva's life. Like the *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara, it does not however possess two doors, perforated stone windows or grills. The interior also does not reveal free-standing pillars but has only the pilasters in the walls. The roof was built on the cantilever principle which is an

advanced architectural feature and is to be noticed in the porch of the Gandharāḍi temples in Baudh, taken to be later than the Paraśurāmeśvara.[1] The inner walls of the porch are plain, but those of the cella, by possessing six small niches, show altogether a new feature. These niches might have served some utilitarian purpose or contained deities no longer to be found.

Though a contemporary of the Śiśireśvara, the Vaitāl temple (*c.* A.D. 775) represents altogether a different conception, and as we have already said, its shape, which does not conform to the dominant Orissan type, might be traced to that of a Buddhist Chaitya hall (Fig. 141). Mr M. M. Ganguly suggests that the shape of the Vaitāl has been derived from the *rathas* of Mahābalīpuram. Of the seven pagodas at Mahābalīpuram, Bhīma's and Sahadeva's *rathas* have some similarity with it.[2] The finials on the roof of the Vaitāl temple, however, unlike those of the *rathas*, consist of *āmalakas*, *kalasas* and *āyudhas* (*triśūlas*) which are the usual crowning members of all Bhubaneswar temples, but its elongated and vaulted roof is suggestive of the *ratha* architecture of the south. However, as Mr Percy Brown has shown, in the ultimate analysis the ancestors of the *rathas*, *gopurams* and the Vaitāl temple are found to be the Chaitya halls of the Buddhists.[3] Besides, the similarity of the style, we have further reasons to connect the Vaitāl temple with the Buddhist tradition, because, as we have shown in the last chapter, the influence of the Bhauma School, essentially representing a Buddhist tradition, is clear and definite on it. The *śikhara* temple had got a firm footing at Bhubaneswar when the Vaitāl came into existence and its builders were surely aware of the type as is proved by the existence of four miniature *śikhara* temples on the four corners of its *Jagamohana* (Fig. 141). The finials on its roof are also a proof of their knowledge of the *śikhara* temple. But with their Buddhistic learning and training, the Bhauma architects seem to have first showed a predilection for the Chaitya-hall type and the Vaitāl temple, has been the result of that predilection. The Vaitāl, however, did not remain a solitary example, because, the later builders of Bhubaneswar evolved a type of temple architecture similar to that of the Vaitāl, which came to be known as *Khākharā* in their *Śilpaśāstras*.[4] At least three more

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 344-7.
[2] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 33, Pls. X, XI & XII.
[3] *Indian Architecture, Buddhist & Hindu* (1st Edn.), pp. 93, 121.
[4] *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, pp. 78-81, Pls. between pp. 32-3, 30-1 and 36-7.

examples of the Khākharā type, one inside the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple, the second the Gaurī temple itself near the Kedāreśvara, the other, a miniature near the Siddheśvara, are still to be found at Bhubaneswar.

Mr M. M. Ganguly attempts to derive the name Vaitāl from *vahitra* (a sea-going vessel) in comparison of *mastaka* with the hull of a ship reversed and its finials with the masts, but these comparisons are far-fetched and the word Vaitāl cannot be taken to be a contraction or corruption of *vahitra*. His suggestion to connect the shape of the temple with a pumpkin gourd with an assumption that the Oriya people have a particular liking for this vegetable, is also fanciful.[1] The true origin of the name is to be traced to the type of cult that was practised in this temple. We shall show later on that the Vaitāl temple was a place of worship of the Kāpālikas who used to invoke the aid of the *Vetālas* (spirits) for their *siddhis*, and from the word *Vetāla*, the name Vaitāl has been derived.

Although the roof of the Vaitāl is of different style, the lower stages of the superstructure follow almost the same architectural disposition and decoration as those of the Śiśireśvara. Heavy mouldings with scrolls peculiar to the sculptures of this group, are to be noticed at the lower basement and this peculiarity is also shared by the Siśireśvara. A rectangular niche in the pattern of a window occurs on each side of the roof except on the west and a sunken panel running round the structure and containing various scenes and amorous couples in relief, serves as a line of demarcation between the walls (*vāḍas*) and the roof (*mastaka*). The *Jagamohana*, a low rectangular structure with four miniature *śikhara* temples embedded at its four corners, which are an innovation in this particular temple, is otherwise a close prototype of the porch of the Śiśireśvara. It has no perforated windows, grills or pillars inside and its roof has been built on the cantilever principle. The interior of the temple, particularly of the sanctuary, is intensely dark, which was perhaps necessary for, and consistent with, the strange esoteric rites that were once performed here. Both the inner and outer faces of the walls of the porch are plain, but the outlines of certain designs still existing on the outer faces indicate that the decorations have been left incomplete. The inner walls of the sanctuary contain fifteen niches enshrining deities, some of which are most terrific in their appearance.

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 134-5.

The next dated temple, Brahmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 1060) shows mature workmanship and advanced architectural features. Here the Canons of Orissan architecture as explained by Mr M. M. Ganguly and Mr N. K. Bose are found to have been fully applied. Among the dated temples it is the earliest one where iron beams have been used, and where the porch or the *Jagamohana* consists of the full-fledged *piḍhā deul* with the usual crowning members. The ceiling of the *Jagamohana* contains sculptures in several tiers ending with a lotus at the centre, a feature which is shared by only one more temple at Bhubaneswar, viz. the Mukteśvara. The Brahmeśvara is a *pañcha-ratha* temple with five pilasters, namely two corner pilasters, two intermediate ones and one central one, fully developed, which give the structure almost a rounded appearance, unlike the earlier temples which are somewhat square in appearance. The pilasters alternate with deep recesses containing *gaja-siṁhas* which has become a definite feature in all important later temples, but which is conspicuous by its absence in all earlier ones. Both the *Jagamohana* and the temple rise abruptly from the ground level without a plinth or a platform, but the basement of the main temple shows the usual structural divisions such as *Pāda*, *Kumbha*, *Pāṭa*, *Kaṇi* and *Vasanta* which are to be noticed in the later temples. The five conventional divisions namely the *Jaṅghā*, *Vāraṇḍi*, *Vandhana*, Upper *Vāraṇḍi* and Upper *Jaṅghā* are also to be noticed in the cubical portion.

Both on the cubical and curvilinear portions of the main structure, we find for the first time the miniature replicas of both the *Piḍhā* and the *Śikhara* temples, some half-finished and others fully carved, but all forming part of the wall surface and subdued with the scheme of the linear ascent of the tower. As we have already noticed, the miniature *śikharas* do not occur on the earlier temples, dated or undated, but the half-*āmalakas* appearing at regular intervals at the corners provide a semblance and mark a rudimentary beginning of these miniature replicas. In no other example except in the Brahmeśvara, the miniature replicas of the *Piḍhā* temples appear as decorations. The Chaitya arches continued to be the decorative motif but in much stylised forms. The Bhauma technique of making the side-deities (*Pārśva-devatās*) in sections was not followed in this temple but the main side-deities Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Durgā were carved out of single blocks of stone and put in the niches made in the central pilasters as we find in the Paraśurāmeśvara and other temples. This unwary process of enshrining side-deities has resulted

in the removal of all the three images probably by the antiquity collectors.

The *Piḍhā* temple that serves as the porch is full-fledged in every sense of the term, unlike its prototypes in the Mukteśvara and Rājarānī, which lack crowning members. As is usual with a *Piḍhā* temple, the roof of the *Jagamohana* shows undecorated *piḍhās* or steps diminishing as they ascend and crowned by a huge *āmalaka*, but the lowermost step contains reliefs showing battle scenes and various animal figures. The *vādas* (walls) divide themselves into five pilasters each and contain *gaja-siṁhas* in the recesses and half-finished miniature *Piḍhā* temples and stylised Chaitya arches as decorations. Besides a door in the east, the *Jagamohana* also possesses two balustraded windows with female figures carved on the outer faces of the balustrades.

The Kedāreśvara (*c.* A.D. 1100) is almost of the same type as that of the Brahmeśvara. Like the Brahmeśvara, it is a *pañcha-ratha* temple with the pilasters fully developed and with *gaja-siṁhas* contained in the recesses. It also abruptly rises from the ground level without a plinth or a platform and has a *Piḍhā* temple as its *Jagamohana*. Built of gritty sandstone, it is almost devoid of decoration except a few decorative female figures to be found in the recesses of the upper *vāḍas*. The *Pārśva-devatās* Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Durgā are still to be found in the central niches on three sides. The curvature of the *śikhara*, however, shows a new architectural peculiarity. In the earlier temples like the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Śiśireśvara, the *śikhara* is short and its curvature, slight and the *śikhara* of the Brahmeśvara is tall and has a perceptible curvature towards the top. But the *śikhara* of the Kedāreśvara, though tall, does not show a marked curvature with the result that its topmost portion makes an angle with the *āmalaka*. In this respect the Kedāreśvara shows a close architectural affinity with the Jagannāth temple at Puri.

The Megheśvara temple (*c.* A.D. 1195), as observed by Prof. R. D. Banerji, is an important structure in the history of the evolution of the temple architecture in Orissa. It has been provided with a plinth or platform and has seven pilasters fully formed, which make the structure almost a round one. Due to an increase in the number of pilasters, little space has been left in the body of the temple and in consequence the recesses have been very narrow and not well-marked. The niches in central pilasters contained side-deities, but are now empty. The intermediate pilasters have a series of complete

miniature *śikharas*, forming part of the walls, and repeated up to the top, but the corner pilasters have only half-*āmalakas* which take the place of *aṅga-śikharas*. The *rāhā-pāga* (the central pilaster) is plain and is with a projecting lion and a *kīrtti-mukha* as its relieving features.

The *Jagamohana* which is a *Piḍhā* temple is wholly undecorated and is with a door and two balustraded windows. The presence of two *Nāga-stambhas* on both sides of the door has become a relieving feature in this otherwise undecorated structure. In front of the door facing the west, there was also a round *Vṛiṣa-stambha* (a column with a bull-capital) of which only the base has survived and the bull-capital which was lying in the tank nearby has been removed to the Orissa State Museum.

The plan of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple (A.D. 1278) differs considerably from that of the other temples. The main temple stands on a cruciform platform, a peculiarity which is the first of its kind in a dated temple, and has a three chambered frontal adjunct consisting of the *Jagamohana*, the *Nāṭa-mandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. Three *Piḍhā* temples in alignment with the central niches were on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the *Vimāna*, of which only the eastern one is *in situ* and the other two have left only the remains of their plinths. Prof. R. D. Banerji thinks that they were used as propyleas,[1] but most likely they were side structures containing deities corresponding to the ones in the central niches. The *Vimāna* and the *śikhara* have almost the same designs as those in the Meghe-śvara. It is a *sapta-ratha* temple and the designs in the pilasters consist of niches and complete or incomplete miniature *śikharas*. The niches in the central pilasters are occupied by the Vaiṣṇavite deities, the presiding deities of the shrine being Valarāma and his brother Śrī Kṛiṣṇa.

The *Nāṭa-mandira* is an open hall, but the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* is comparatively closed. Certain constructional peculiarities inside these structures are worth mentioning. The *Nāṭa-mandira* contains in the interior the so-called eight corbelled arches, evidently to reduce the weight of the super-structure on the walls, and the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* has only two such devices above the entrances, evidently for the same purpose. The high plinth, the judicious use of the corbelled arches and the three-chambered porch, all indicate an architectural advancement in the Ananta-Vāsudeva, but it lacks the

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 364.

grace of the Brahmeśvara temple, the base of its *vimāna* being comparatively small and the *śikhara* stiff and straight. Moreover, although it is one of the latest temples of the place, it has suffered from more wear and tear, the damages being no doubt due to the inferior type of sandstone used in the building.

The last dated monument, Pāpanāśinī, which bears an inscription of Kapileśvaradeva, the Sūrya-vaṁśī king of Orissa, consists of a portal with two doors in the east and the west, but unfortunately only the lower portion of the structure remains at present. It was not the porch of any temple, for, the main temple of the shrine is situated about a hundred yards to the west of it and has a porch of its own. The ruined condition of the portal prevents us from determining its exact shape and character, although the surviving sculptures show some peculiarities of their own, which will be noticed in their proper place.

The above survey of the architectural peculiarities of the dated temples which cover a period of about nine hundred years, provide us with some definite results that will be further analysed and utilized for determining the epochs of undated monuments, but here a few words may be said about a common architectural defect, namely the lack of bonding between the sanctuaries and the porches, which is to be noticed in many temples and which has led some eminent scholars to conclude that the main temples and the porches were constructed at different times.

With regard to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Mr Percy Brown observes: "One inexplicable feature in connexion with this temple is the character of the juncture between the pillared hall and the sanctuary, which seems to imply that the two structures were built at different times."[1] Prof. R. D. Banerji considers the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara to be "much later in date and is distinctly a later addition."[2] The same scholar has discovered evidence in the Liṅgarāja temple to show "that the *Vimāna* and *Jagamohana* were not built at the same time."[3] Mr M. M. Ganguly has adduced elaborate proofs to show that the *Jagamohana* of the Megheśvara temple "is decidedly a subsequent addition to the *Vimāna*."[4] On closer examination some more temples at Bhubaneswar will reveal defects

[1] *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu* (1st Edn.), p. 120.
[2] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 347.
[3] Ibid. p. 359.
[4] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 328.

at the points of juncture between the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*, which may be taken as an evidence of the two structures having been built at different times. Are we therefore to suppose that builders of the temples at Bhubaneswar left the porches to be built by others? Such a supposition may hold good with regard to a stupendous structure like the temple of Liṅgarāja, which might have taken a very long time to be completed, though it is unreasonable to think that the porch was not visualized in the original scheme. But in the case of the smaller structures like the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Mukteśvara and the Megheśvara, such a supposition would appear absurd. The real explanation of the lack of bonding or some such defect to be noticed in the juncture of the main temple and the porch, is therefore to be sought in the method that was adopted in constructing the stone structures.

The indigenous method of constructing stone structures and carrying huge stones to great heights when modern cranes were not in use, was to bury the structures in earth as they progressed in height, and then to make inclined planes on one side of them on which the stones of great weight could be dragged to desired heights. Almost all the temples of Bhubaneswar excepting the miniature ones, seem to have been built by this method, and the remains of the inclined plane made for the great Liṅgarāja temple can now be studied with profit. The quarry for stones having been the hill of Khaṇḍagiri on the west, the inclined plane for the Liṅgarāja temple was made on the western side, the remains of which in the shape of broken mounds are still visible and of which the last point of inclination was marked by building a small laterite temple known as Chāra Nārāyaṇa. *Chāra* in the local language means an inclined plane. The bottom of the inclined plane was paved with laterite stones which can now be discovered even by casual digging. An inclined plane not only ensured the safe removal of stones, but also led to the origin of a tank which, according to the *Śilpa-śāstras*, every temple must possess. The size of a tank by the side of a temple was also very often conditioned by the volume of earth necessary for the height of the inclined ramp required for its construction. Even in modern times, this safe and advantageous method is being adopted and the great temple at Khichhing in Mayurbhanj was reconstructed in recent times by the same method.

The process of burying the structures in earth at the time of their construction, prevented the builders from construction of both the

main temple and the porch simultaneously. The rule was therefore to build the main temple first and then add a porch after its completion. Generally, however, two columns in the front facade of the main structure were left uncarved, which were to form the points of juncture with the porch, but the two structures could not very often be adjusted exactly on those points. It is therefore not surprising at present to discover some discrepancies at these points of juncture.



V

ICONOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE CULT IMAGES ON THE DATED TEMPLES

AS we have already observed, the sculptures of the temples at Bhubaneswar have practically remained unstudied. What has been said about them by the earlier scholars, does not represent an attempt for a systematic study to unfold their historical significance or to determine their chronological order. Their vast number and multifarious forms have also presented practical difficulties in describing or reproducing them within the scope of a chapter or two. It is therefore necessary here to be acquainted in the first instance with the peculiarities of the sculptural decorations of the dated temples, so that with the help of the known characteristics of such sculptures, we may be in a position to determine the epochs of the detached specimens and of the sculptures of the undated temples. Though vast in number, the temple sculptures in the ultimate analysis reduce themselves into some broad classes. They can even at once be divided into two broad categories, namely the cult images and the decorative motifs. The first category includes the representations of gods and goddesses and episodes from their lives and the second includes a variety of subjects or objects introduced to beautify the structures or to create a religious atmosphere about them. The decorative motifs embrace within their scope the male and female figures, erotic sculptures, semi-divine beings such as *Gandharvas*, *Nāgas*, *Yakṣas* and *Kinnaras* etc., griffins, enigmatic figures of amusing character, fauna and flora, scrolls and arabesques, fables and stories, Chaitya arches and lotus medallions and others of similar decorative character. Each of these provides a subject for special study, but in a general survey, stress should be laid on those sculptures which

possess special features and provide historical or chronological significance. Reserving the discussion of the decorative motifs for a subsequent chapter, we should first start a study of the iconographic features of the cult images in each of the dated temples, which, when determined, will indicate their characteristic types in the different epochs.

No cult images have survived of the first dated temple Śatrughneśvara (*c*. A.D. 575) except the inscribed lintel of its southern niche, containing the images of eight planets, namely Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Buddha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu. Ketu is absent. The absence of Ketu continued to be a noteworthy feature in all planet slabs of all the early temples up to the end of the Bhauma cultural age, i.e. up to the end of the ninth century. In this lintel, the planets except Rāhu, appear as youthful figures, holding vases in their left hands and *japāmālas* in the right. Rāhu depicted as a terrific half-bust figure, now damaged, has been shown with proffered hands. Ravi holds a lotus with stalk in each hand. The only other noteworthy feature among the other six planets is the presence of a crescent behind the head of Soma.

The Paraśurāmeśvara (*c*. A.D. 650) is by far the most decorated of all the early temples that have come down to us in a fair state of preservation. As Mr Percy Brown observes, every stone here is of informative character.[1] Since very little has been done up till now to elucidate or identify the numerous cult images appearing on this monument and since they furnish ample material for an iconographical study of the cult images, an attempt is being made to give the identifications and short descriptions of most of them.

A series of cult images occur in low relief in shallow rectangular niches carved at the base of the *Jagamohana* and running round the whole length of the walls on three sides. These images beginning from the southern wall and ending with the northern, are as follows (Figs. 33A-40).

1. VIṢṆU. It holds in the left hands a disc and a club and in the lower right a *vīja-pūraka*. The upper right hand and the head have been broken off and replaced by plain stones. There are two attendant figures, one male and one female, to the right and the left of the deity. In a similar Viṣṇu image discovered from the Svarṇṇajāleśvara temple, a cognate member of the Paraśurāmeśvara group, the

[1] *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu* (First Edition), p. 120.

attendant female figure holds a sword and a fly-whisk and as such it cannot be identified as one of the consorts of Viṣṇu (Figs. 33B).

2. Śiva-Pārvatī. They sit side by side, Pārvatī putting her right elbow on the shoulder of Śiva. Śiva holds a long trident and wears a snake as a *Kuṇḍala* in the right ear. The pedestal shows the bull and the lion with the child Gaṇeśa in the middle (Fig. 33A).

3. Eight-armed Dancing Arddha-nārīśvara. The breast on the female part has broken off. The upper two female hands hold a mirror and a book and the upper male hands have a lute and an *aksha-māla*. The other hands are broken. In the pedestals are to be seen two skeleton-shaped *Pretas* or spirits (Fig. 34).

4. Indra. It marks the beginning of a row of eight *dikpatis* continued to the front wall. The deity sits on a low couch with legs hanging down and two hands holding a *daṇḍa* placed horizontally on both the knees (Fig. 35B). Though the particular cognizance, the elephant Airāvata, is absent, the identification rests on a similar representation of Indra in the Śaiva temple at Bhumarā[1] and on its place in association with other figures of *dikpālas*.

5. Yama. It sits upon its mount the buffalo and holds in the left hand a club and in the right a *vīja-pūraka*. (Fig. 35A).

6. Varuṇa. It sits on a low couch and holds in the left hand a noose and in the right a *vija-pūraka*. In the pedestal there is a duck walking to the right (Fig. 36).

7-8. These images probably represent Vāyu and Kubera (Fig. 38). The left hand of Vāyu holds a staff which seems to be the lower portion of a flag-staff and the right hand, a *vīja-pūraka*. In the later representations Vāyu is found with one or two flag-staffs held in one or two hands. In the image identified as Kubera, the only distinctive symbol is a vase held in the left hand. The pedestals of these deities and also of the remaining *dikpatis* have been replaced by plain stones in subsequent repairs and the distinctive symbols on them, which would have led to their correct identifications, have been lost.

9-11. The deity adjacent to Kubera might have been an image of Agni of which only a very small portion is now visible from under a plain stone fitted on the corner during the subsequent repairs. The last one is undoubtedly Iśāna holding a long trident, and with a snake *Kuṇḍala* in the right ear. The image to its proper left might have been that of Nairṛita.

We have taken these eight images to be the representations of eight

[1] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 16, Pl. XIV(c).

guardian deities, because the row begins with Indra and ends with Iśāna which are the usual first and last members of the group and because, out of eight, four namely Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Iśāna can be correctly identified. Almost all of them have been damaged or mutilated, the pedestals of three have been replaced by plain stones. Had they all survived in a better state of preservation, they would have provided important iconographic features for the study of these deities in the late Gupta and the early medieval periods. It is to be noted that these *dikpatis* not only differ from their later representations, but also the order in which they occur is different in the subsequent period. Another peculiarity about them is that they have been carved in one continuous group instead of being placed, as in the later temples, in their proper directions of which they are supposed to be the guardians.

12-13. On both sides of the doorway in the west, Gaṅgā and Yamunā occur in the usual positions of the jambs, but their representations are entirely different from those of the later period. Their mounts *makara* and tortoise have broken off but portions of the latter still exist. Gaṅgā stands in water which is indicated by wavy lines, with her right hand placed on the hip and the left hand holding a flower. There are three female attendants by her side, of which one holds a parasol over her head, another, a fly-whisk and the third, one to her left, a basketful of flowers. Above the heads of the two attendants to the right, two ducks which are the usual associates of water, are to be found, and over the head of the attendant to the left, an ascetic with matted hair is found seated in the corner. The ascetic is perhaps Śiva (Fig. 37). Yamunā has been represented with only one female attendant by her side. Almost similar representations of the river goddesses appear on the door jambs of the ruined temple of Dah Parvatiya, Tezpur, Assam.[1]

14. A row of nine deities constituting an early group of Saptamātṛikās with their two associates begins from the north-west corner of the northern wall and continues up to the middle. The first one is a Gaṇeśa with the usual attributes *kuṭhāra*, *modakas*, *akshamālā* and a radish. It has no mouse as its mount (Figs. 86A, 86B, 87A, 87B).

15. Chāmuṇḍā. It holds a lily bud and a *vija-pūraka* in the upper and the lower right hands and a long trident and a vase in the left hands. The pedestal shows an owl flanked by two tripods with a vase and flowers. The drooping breasts, sunken belly, sinews and bones

[1] *Ann. Rep. Archl. S.I.* 1924-5, Plate XXXII(a) and (c).

shown in the body and the neck are the noteworthy features of the representation.

16. VĀRĀHĪ. It holds a lotus and a fish in the right hands and a *kuṭhāra* and a vase in the left. The pedestal is occupied by a human figure seated with its hands, placed on the ground and two tripods on both sides of it.

17. INDRĀṆĪ. It holds a *vajra* in the left hand and a vase in the right. In the pedestal an elephant is to be found in between two tripods.

18. VAIṢṆAVĪ. It holds *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and a vase. The figures in the pedestal are missing.

19. KAUMĀRĪ. It holds a *vīja-pūraka* in the right hand and a long *śakti* in the left. The figures in the pedestal are missing.

20. ŚIVĀNĪ. It holds in the right hands an *akshamālā* and a *vīja-pūraka* and in the left a *gadā* and a trident. The figures in the pedestal are missing.

21. BRĀHMĪ. It holds an *akshamālā* and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right hands and a *ketaka* flower and a vase in the left. A duck and a tripod are to be found on the pedestal.

22. Last in the series of *Mātṛikās* appears a two-armed figure, seated, holding a lotus bud in the right hand. A long trident is posted to its proper left. The pedestal contains a bull and a vase with a loop handle. The figure is to be identified with Vīrabhadra who is enjoined to be represented in association with the *Mātṛikās*.

23. Four-armed Śiva sits holding a long trident in the upper left hand and an *akshamālā* and a lotus bud in the right ones. It wears a snake *kuṇḍala*.

24. Lakulīśa sits in the *samādhi* posture holding a club (*lakuṭa*) and showing *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* with both the hands (Fig. 124).

25. A badly damaged four-armed deity of which all attributes have been lost.

26. Durgā, four-armed, holds an *akshamālā*, a *ketaka* flower and a vase in three of the hands, and the palm of the fourth hand is shown upturned with a rosette on it.

27. Chandra sits with an *akshamālā* in the right hand and a vase in the left[1] (Fig. 40).

28. A mutilated Sūrya holds lotuses in both hands in the usual fashion.

[1] Independent images of Chandra are rare and are not to be found in any of the numerous temples at Bhubaneswar. I am indebted to Mr S. K. Saraswati for its identification.

Inset amidst the multifarious decorative designs a few more cult images are to be found on the outer walls of the *Jagamohana*. On the southern wall occurs an image of Kārttikeya riding a peacock shown to front holding a *śakti* in the left hand and a *vīja-pūraka* in the right. On the lintel of the southern door occurs an image of Gaṇeśa with the usual attributes, but with no mouse. On the northern wall occurs in a Chaitya window a Maheśa-mūrti similar to one in the famous Elephanta Cave, which, according to Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao, has been identified wrongly as Tri-mūrti[1] (Fig. 39). It is to be noted, however, that none of the three faces of this Maheśa-mūrti has any moustaches as in the Maheśa-mūrti in the Elephanta Cave, though all the three heads have *jaṭā-mukuṭas*. This is the only *Maheśa-mūrti* to be found in any temple at Bhubaneswar.

The main temple also contains a number of cult images of which the main characteristics ought to be noted. One most noteworthy feature about them is the variation in the number of hands in the same deity in different representations. Naṭarāja, for instance, is found with four hands in the northern and eastern facades, with six in the southern, and in the *Jagamohana* and in the front facade of the *Vimāna*, with eight hands. Viṣṇu and Śiva are similarly found with two and four hands. The representation of hands in the multi-armed deities seems to have been conditioned by the exigency of space available or by the particular predilection of sculptors, and as such no conclusion should be built about their age on the basis of the hands found in them. Mr Ramaprasad Chanda assigns the image of Virajā at Jajpur to the pre-Gupta period on the ground that it possesses only two hands.[2] In the absence of other evidence, his conclusion ought to be taken as doubtful.

Some more images of Gaṇeśa, Durgā and Kārttikeya are to be noticed on the main temple, but they possess no special attributes and resemble those already described. Gaṇeśa has invariably been represented without a mouse. Busts of Śiva occur within the Chaitya arches in all the four facades, each with the third eye prominently shown in the forehead. The only other cult image that deserves mention is the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu to be found on the southern

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 382, ff. Of late, Prof. J. N. Banerjea has shown that the so-called Trimūrti of Elephantā "really illustrates one of the composite aspects of Śiva in which his two-fold forms *ghora* (terrific) and *saumya* (pacific), and his consort Umā are represented by the three faces of the sculpture." *Arts asiatiques*, Paris, Tome III, Fasc 2, p. 130 ff.

[2] *Memoirs of Archl. Survey of India*, No. 44, p. 4.

facade. The boar-headed Viṣṇu stands in the pose of an archer, holding a conch-shell, a disc and a club and lifts the goddess Earth with the snout. The representation is similar to that of the Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu to be found in the Varāha Cave, Udayagiri near Bhilsa.[1]

Of the images carved out of single blocks of stone and enshrined in the central niches, only two, namely Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, are still to be found in their original places (Figs. 97, 106). Of them, Gaṇeśa attached to the southern niche, is found with a radish, an *akshamālā*, a cup of sweets and an upraised *kuṭhāra* held in the four hands and with snakes used as the belt and the sacred thread. The pedestal is occupied by a dish of flowers placed on a tripod which is flanked by the two figures of lions facing opposite to each other. Kārttikeya attached to the eastern niche, is seated on a low footed stool, holding in the left hand a long spear and in the right a *vīja-pūraka*. There is a parasol over the head with the streamers hanging down and with a flying *Vidhyādhara* at the top on each side. The deity wears *kuṇḍalas*, a belt, a girdle and a necklace with tiger's nails. The hilt of a dagger or a sword is shown on the waist. The mount, the peacock, is found on the pedestal, ready to peck at the inverted hood of a snake trodden under its feet. The largest niche in the north is now empty, but since there is an image of Mahiṣamardinī carved just above its lintel, and since the same deity is usually found in the northern niches of some of the early temples, we may safely conclude that it contained an image of Mahiṣamardinī. The image of Mahiṣa-mardinī that occurs above this niche, holds a sword brandished over its head, a thunderbolt, a bow and a *kheṭaka* and pierces the throat of the buffalo-headed demon with the trident held in the middle right hand while the lowermost left hand presses the head down. A female figure to the left drags the demon with a noose tied to his right leg.

Two images of Lakulīśa occur on the body of the main temple, of which one on the front facade holds, as its prototype in the *Jaga-mohana* does, a *lakuṭa* or club and seated in *yogāsana*, shows *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā*. The other to be found within a Chaitya arch on the eastern side, has four small male figures, two on each side, each with a *pustaka* held in the left hand, and the right showing *abhaya-mudrā*. They are all seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The central

[1] R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Plates XXXVIII and XXXIX.

figure, Lakulīśa, holds as usual a *lakuṭa* and shows *Dharmma-pravattana-mudrā*. Because of their *yogāsana*, half-closed eyes, *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* and the distinctive treatment of hair, the Lakulī images not only of this temple, but also many other early temples of Bhubaneswar, are likely to be mistaken for those of the Buddha, but their distinctive attribute *lakuṭa* discloses their identity (Figs. 125, 126). The four male figures found in association with the central figure are certainly the representations of the four disciples of Lakulī, who, as we know from the Vāyu and Liṅga Purāṇas[1] and also from the Cintra Praśasti of the Chālukya ruler Śāraṅgadeva,[2] were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The common origin of all these four disciples is indicated by the lotuses on which they sit and which rise from a common lotus forming the pedestal of their master, and that they were all preachers is indicated by the books held in their hands. The *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* shown by Lakulī indicates that, like the Buddha who first turned the wheel of law, he was also the first to give a start to the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that Lakulī, the first Pāśupata teacher, was born in the first century A.D. at Kāyārohaṇa, modern Karvan in the now defunct State of Baroda, and was considered to be the last incarnation of Śiva and that, of his four disciples, Kuśika established himself at Mathurā and Garga at Somanātha in Kathiawad.[3] The frequent occurrence of the Lakulī images on the early temples of Bhubaneswar has a great significance on their origin and history which we shall discuss later on at some length.

Mr M. M. Ganguly thinks that the eight small niches that flank the central ones in the *vāḍas* of the *Vimāna* which are now empty, originally contained the images of *Dikpālas*,[4] but this view does not seem to be correct, because in the Svarṇṇajāleśvara, a cognate member of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, these niches were occupied by deities other than *Dikpālas*. A mutilated Viṣṇu image originally attached to one of the small niches of the Svarṇṇajāleśvara has now found place in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Three episodes from Śiva's life occur at three different places of the main temple (Figs. 41, 43). Of these, one depicted within a large Chaitya arch in the front facade just above the clerestory of the *Jagamohana*, represents the scene of Rāvaṇa raising the mount Kailāsa, the abode

[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XXII, pp. 154, ff.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.
[3] Ibid. Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.
[4] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 299.

of Śiva. Rāvaṇa, carved in high relief, is much mutilated, but the main outlines of its heads and hands are still discernible. The demon raises the mount with the upper hands and places the lowermost two on his knees. Just above his central head, Hara and Pārvatī are found seated, Pārvatī turning her head as if in panic and Hara clasping her with his left hand and raising the right in *abhaya*. The frame of the Chaitya arch is occupied by the figures of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa brandishing the spear and the battle-axe respectively and by other inhabitants of Kailāsa, who seem to be in great panic and commotion (Fig. 41). The scene has an originality of its own and is of a conception different from the scene of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa to be found in the Kailāsa temple at Ellora.[1]

The second episode is that of Arṇṇapūrnnā offering alms to Śiva, which is depicted within a similar Chaitya arch in the southern facade of the *Śikhara*. Śiva and Arṇṇapūrnnā stand face to face with a dwarf in between and each with an attendant by the side. Śiva holds a long parasol in the right hand and extends the left with a cup in which Arṇṇapūrnnā shown as wearing a veil, offers alms. The female attendant by her side catches hold of her hand as if to prevent her from the act. A panel of sculpture recovered from Pāhārpur seems to depict the same episode that we find here (*M.A.S.I.* No. 55, p. 42, pe. XXXI C). The Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti of which some illustrations have been produced by Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao, is altogether a different conception both in origin and form.[2]

The third scene is that of Śiva's marriage depicted on the lintel of the central niche on the eastern wall. Śiva and Pārvatī stand in the centre of the scene, dressed as the bridegroom and the bride. Agni with flames rising on both sides sits to the proper right of Śiva and below him is found a foliated vase with a miniature Gaṇeśa by its side. To the right of Agni, Brahmā with the three heads shown, is pouring water from a vase. To the right of Brahmā, Sūrya is standing with the usual lotuses. Two female attendants with swords in their hands, stand to the left of Pārvatī. To the left of the last female attendant the four-armed Viṣṇu stands holding a vase with two hands and a conch-shell with the other two. A dwarf stands in between them carrying a load, probably of sweets, on the head. Three other male figures of the composition, probably some gods, cannot be identified (Fig. 43). Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao illustrates

[1] Khandalavala, *Indian Sculptures and Paintings*, Plate XVIII.
[2] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 306 ff.

several scenes of Śiva's marriage which he calls Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis, but none of them is similar to the present one.[1] The presence of Gaṇeśa in the marriage scene of Śiva appears to be an anachronism.

The sculptures of the Vaitāl temple (*c.* A.D. 775) represent a line of artistic tradition which is different from that to be found in the preceding dated temples. They also include some cult images of which no replicas appear on any other temple at Bhubaneswar. As has already been said, the *vāḍas* of the temple have pilasters supported on the plinth and every two enclose a niche containing an image. Of the images, some are cult deities and others, secular figures. The distinction between them is provided by the haloes which are present in the former, but are absent in the latter. It is however difficult to identify some of the deities appearing on the *vāḍas*, as no Tantra texts describing the characteristics which they bear, have yet come to light and the published works on Hindu iconography do not help us much in this respect. In the southern *vāḍa* a female deity holds in the right hand what seems to be a lily and places the left in *kaṭyavalambita* form. On the west another female deity holds a flower in the right hand and places the left on a fluted staff stuck to the ground (Fig. 49). A third one to be found in the north holds in upraised right hand a fan-like object and has a seated male devotee to her right. The divinity of these images is indicated by the presence of haloes on them, but unfortunately they cannot be identified.

Among the deities that can be identified the four-handed Durgā appears in the central niche in the south. It holds a *japāmāla*, a *śūla*, a *khaḍga* and a vase in its four hands and has two attendants on either side and a pair of flying *Vidyādharas* above the head. In the western *vāḍa*, Arddha-nārīśvara stands in the central niche, holding a *japāmāla* in the male hand and a mirror in the female one. On the male part the *membrum virile* has been shown erect. Nandī stands behind the deity. In the northern central niche has been enshrined Mahiṣa-mardinī with a sword, *triśūla*, *vajra* and *śūla* in her right hands and a *kheṭaka* with a loop handle, a bow and a snake in the left. The snake forcibly draws out the tongue from the mouth of the buffalo-headed demon into whose breast the goddess thrusts the long trident held in one of the right hands. The lion bites the right elbow of the victim (Figs. 132, 112).

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 337 ff.

The superstructure contains several cult images of great iconographic importance (Figs. 126, 116, 48). In the south, a Chaitya arch with a *kīrtti-mukha* at the top encloses a medallion containing an image of Lakulī with his four disciples. It is similar in all respects to the Lakulī image on the eastern facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The only peculiarity to be noted in it is that its *membrum virile* has been shown erect, indisputably indicating the Śaivite origin of the image (Fig. 126). Below Lakulī occurs in a rectangular niche the image of Hara and Pārvatī seated side by side, the latter with the right hand on the left shoulder of Hara. In the northern facade the images of Harihara and Durgā are to be found in similar positions and within similar decorative designs. The former occupying a medallion is seated in *yogāsana* holding a *japāmāla* in the upper right hand and a conch-shell in the upper left. In the right part which represents Hara, the *membrum virile* has been shown erect. Durgā is also seated in *yogāsana* with *japāmāla* and *khaḍga* in the upper two hands. To the right there is a lion and to the left, a deer with its long neck upraised. In the front façade the foliated pediment, an ornate development of a Chaitya arch, contains within a medallion a well-preserved ten-handed Naṭarāja. Of the ten hands, four hold in each a *japāmāla*, a *triśūla*, a snake and a *kharpara*, and the fifth touches the chin of a female figure seated to the left. The remaining hands exhibit the poses of the dance, of which the uppermost two are raised over the shoulders with the fingers pointed towards the head. Nandī with the uplifted head stands in between the legs of the deity (Fig. 116). Below this remarkable Naṭarāja occurs in a rectangular niche an image of Sūrya represented in the usual fashion with lotuses in hands and armour on the body (Fig. 48). Seated in front of Sūrya, Aruṇa holds in the left hand the reins of the seven horses, carved on the pedestal and a *daṇḍa* in the right. Two female figures, one on each side of the deity with bows in their hands, stand in the pose of discharging arrows. These figures are no doubt Uṣā and Pratyūṣā who are supposed to drive away darkness with their bows and arrows.[1]

The *Jagamohana* is wholly undecorated, but the inner walls of the cella, as we have already observed, contain some of the most remarkable images which, having been concealed in darkness, have scarcely come to the notice of any scholar (Figs. 88-93). They are fifteen in number and are carved in shallow niches along the base of the wall.

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 313.

A group of Saptamātṛikās headed by Vīreśvara begins in the eastern wall and ends in the centre of the western with the largest images, a Chāmuṇḍā, which is the presiding deity of the shrine. All the *mātṛikās* except Chāmuṇḍā have certain characteristics common to them all. They, including Vīreśvara, are seated in *yogāsana* on full-blown lotuses with two flying *Vidyādharas* usually found at the top corners, and their pedestals are occupied by certain common objects, such as, a jug with protruding lip and a loop handle, a tripod with cup containing *modakas* or flowers and an incense burner. Besides, a halo surrounds the head of each deity. Vīreśvara, the first in the group, is four-handed, with a *japāmāla* and a trident in the upper two hands and a *vīja-pūraka* in the lower left, the palm of the lower right being shown upturned. Nandī is shown on the pedestal. The attributes in the hands of Brāhmī have become indistinct, but her three visible heads and the duck on the pedestal serve as the identifying features. Māheśvarī with a bull on the pedestal and with a *japāmāla* and a trident in the upper hands occurs to the left of Brāhmī. The fourth niche is occupied by a partially mutilated Kaumārī with its peacock-mount on the pedestal. The peculiarity to be noted about Nārāyaṇī, the fifth figure of the group, is that she has no Garuḍa on the pedestal, but has a human figure with the left hand upraised. Nārāyaṇī is otherwise identifiable by *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and perhaps *padma* in her hands. The boar-headed Vārāhī occurs in the sixth niche with a fish and a *kuṭhāra* as the main objects in her hands. A male figure is to be found on the pedestal seated on haunches and with the hands placed on the feet. In the image of Indrāṇī a thunderbolt is to be found in its left hand and an elephant on the pedestal. It is difficult to determine the features and attributes of Chāmuṇḍā, the presiding deity, which is always covered with a piece of cloth. Nevertheless, her sunken eyes, the hood of a snake on her head and a corpse under her feet with a jackal dragging it, indicate that it is a terrific figure.

From Chāmuṇḍā, another row of seven deities begins from the middle of the western wall and continues up to the eastern to the right side of the door (Figs. 91-93). The first of these images is a female deity holding a trident and a lily in the right and left hands respectively. The pedestal is occupied by a tripod with *modakas* and flowers, flanked by jugs of the type described above. It has no *vāhana*. It may be the representation of some form analogous to the female aspect of Śiva. May it be the representation of Śivadūtī

who is invoked in association with the Mātṛikās in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Chaṇḍi*? In the niche to the left of this image, Gaṇeśa appears with the usual attributes of *akshamālā*, a radish, a battle-axe and sweets in the hands and with a snake as his sacred thread. On the pedestal no mouse is to be found, but it contains two jack-fruits with the *modakas* and flowers in the middle. Next to Gaṇeśa, a most terrific deity is found in a similar niche in the northern wall. It represents a skeleton-shaped male figure wearing a garland of skulls, and with sunken eyes, open mouth, protruding tongue and hollowed belly against which the *membrum virile* is conspicuously shown upraised. It sits in a fighting posture, resting the weight of its body on the left knee and holding in the right hand a large knife usually seen in a butcher's shop and in the left, a *kharpara* from which the flames rise on all sides. On the pedestal, a female figure kneeling down holds some indistinct object with both hands and by her side are to be found a tripod with two human heads placed on it and a jackal eating a corpse lying prostrate. The image is to be identified with one of the sixty-four forms of Bhairava who is regarded by authorities as the *pūrṇṇa-rūpa* or the full form of Śaṅkara.[1] The twelfth niche is occupied by a male deity, holding in one hand an indistinct object and in another, a *vīja-pūraka*. It is flanked by two devotees with folded hands. On the pedestal the figure of a man, *modakas*, flowers and a jug are to be found. I am unable to identify it with any known god. The boar-headed male deity in the next recess with an upraised *kuṭhāra* in the right hand and a *kharapara* in the left, may be identified with the male counterpart of Vārāhī, although such a form is not known from any other source. The pedestal of the deity is occupied by a male figure in *yogāsana* and the usual objects. The fourteenth image is definitely that of Amogha-siddhi, one of the Dhyānī-Buddhas, of whom we have spoken at some length in Chapter III. The right hand has broken off, but, as is usual with Amogha-siddhi, the left hand holds a vase and the deity is seated in *yogāsana* with an attendant on each side and a canopy of seven serpent hoods over the head. On the pedestal there is a foliated vase in place of a jug with loop handle and protruding lip. The last image in the fifteenth niche is Gajāsura-saṁhāra-mūrti which represents Śiva killing Gajāsura. Śiva is represented here with a sunken belly and the *membrum virile* upraised and engaged in the act of killing Gajāsura with a knife, whose elephant form is found in the upper right corner. The human

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 177.

form of the demon lying prostrate with a lion biting the right leg, has become the seat of Śiva. Śiva holds in upper left hand a trident combined with a disc and flames rise on both his sides. Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao has given different versions of the story of Gajāsura-badha as they appear in the Purāṇas,[1] but it is difficult to say which of these versions is represented by the present image. None of the illustrations of Gajāsura-saṁhāra-mūrti given by him[2] has any resemblance to the present one.

The sculptures of the Śiśireśvara temple (*c.* A.D 800.) particularly of the *Jagamohana*, have suffered much damage. Two of the images appearing on the southern wall of the *Jagamohana*, namely Lakulīśa and Amogha-siddhi, have already been noticed in Chapter III in connexion with the date of the temple. We have also discussed in the same chapter the significance and characteristics of some Buddhist images that appear on the body of the temple. The *Jagamohana* contains some more important images which however have been sadly mutilated beyond identification. One such image appears to the proper right of Lakulīśa and sits in a posture as a Buddhist Kubera does. The eaves in the roof of the *Jagamohana* contain a frieze of sculptures running round the whole structure and showing battle-scenes and some incidents from Śiva's life. One such incident that appears on the northern eave is a scene of the fight between Kirāta and Arjuna. The scene begins with the exchange of arrows from the bows held by both of them, the flights of which have been indicated by zigzag lines. Next we find them engaged in a duel and later standing by the boar which was the cause of the fight. In the last part of the scene Arjuna is found kneeling by the side of a *liṅgam* with flowers on the top (Fig. 46).

The central niches of the *Vimāna* contain Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Mahiṣa-mardinī respectively in the south, west and north. Gaṇeśa has all the usual objects held in the hands viz. an upraised *kuṭhāra*, a cup of *modakas*, a radish, and an *akshamālā*. The pedestal is plain. The standing Kārttikeya in the western niche has a peacock to his left, a *vija-pūraka* in the right hand, and the left hand is in *katyavalambita* form. The mutilated Mahiṣa-mardinī in the southern niche kills the buffalo-headed demon in the same manner as its close prototype in the southern niche of the Vaitāl temple does, and also holds the same objects in different hands (Fig. 107).

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 379 ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol. II, Part I, pp. 150 ff.

By the side of Gaṇeśa in the central niche in the south there is an image of Viṣṇu holding an *akshamālā* in the upper right hand and a lotus in the upper left. A club is placed by his side, but not held in the lower left hand which is in *Kaṭyavalambita* form. In the corresponding position on the western facade, there is an *Ekapāda* Śiva which is the first of its type to be found in the dated temples. It holds an *akshamālā*, a trident, and a vase. The palm of the lower left hand has been shown upturned with a lotus. On the northern side, there is an image of Kāma with Rati and Prīti by his side and a banner of *makara* over the head. The image is a replica of the one to be found in the Uttareśvara temple, but it lacks the vigour and exuberance of the Uttareśvara example and seems to be a later imitation. The facades of the *śikhara* contain a number of decorative figures and the busts of Śiva in which the third eye so prominently shown in the similar images of the Paraśurāmeśvara, is absent. Miniature Lakulī images with *lakuṭas* are to be seen in the various parts of the *śikhara*. The front facade contains a Naṭarāja within a medallion, which is a replica of the same image occurring in the corresponding position of the adjacent Vaitāl temple (Figs. 116-117).

According to the chronology adopted by us, the temple of Brahmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 1060) is removed from the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara by more than two and a half centuries. It is therefore natural that the cult images in the former will bear characteristics different from those of the same images in the latter two. For the first time among the dated temples we find here the images of *dikpālas* depicted in their proper positions. In the *Vimāna*, Indra riding an elephant and holding a thunderbolt in the right hand and a *pārijāta* flower in the left, appears on the east. Agni seated on a ram and holding an *akshamālā* and a vase in his hands, has been carved on the south-east. The third *dikpāla*, Yama, seated on a buffalo, holds a *daṇḍa* in the right hand and a noose in the left. It is depicted in a terrific form with a beard and a crown on the head. Mairṛita appearing on the south-west corner, wears an ornamented crown on the head and sits upon a man lying prostrate with the face upturned. The guardian deity of the west, Varuṇa, occupies a central position on the west and sits upon a *makara* with an ornamented tail and holds a noose in the left hand. Vāyu appearing in its proper position, sits upon a stag and holds a flag-staff in the left hand. The figure of Kubera, identifiable by its position on the wall, has been badly damaged and all attributes have been lost. The only peculiarity to be noted in connexion with the deity

is that it has no *vāhana* or mount. On the north-east corner, Iśāna appears seated on the Nandī and holding a trident and a club. The hands of the majority of these deities have broken off and consequently some of the attributes held in them have also been lost.

Some other cult images appear in between the guardian deities. Among them Ekapāda-Śiva, Andhaka-vadha-mūrti, Naṭarāja and Arddha-nārīśvara are most noteworthy (Figs. 136, 133). Ekapāda-Śiva appearing on the south, holds a long trident, *dambaru* and *aksha-mālā* in his hands; wears a garland of skulls and stands on a man lying prostrate. Andhaka-vadha-mūrti that appears on the same facade, stands in the pose of an archer wearing a garland of skulls and holding in the upper right hand a *kharpara* and lifts with the long trident the demon Andhaka who, with the body upturned, is found fixed on the prongs of the weapon (Fig. 136). Of the two four-handed Naṭarājas appearing on the temple, one holds a long *vīṇā* with two hands and the other, a snake over the head. Nandī is to be found in both of them. Arddha-nārīśvara that appears on the western facade, holds in the lower right hand a *kharpara* and holds the uppermost two over the head. Both Nandī and the lion are to be found on the pedestal (Fig. 133).

The *pārśva-devatās* Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Durgā have been removed from the central niches. There is therefore no way to determine their characteristics. But above the niche which contained the image of Kārttikeya in the west, there is a small representation of the same deity which should be taken to be a close prototype of the lost one. In this representation of Kārttikeya we find the deity four-handed holding a club and placing the lower left hand on a cock held up by a female figure standing on the left side. The peacock stands to the right of the deity. No Gaṇeśa is to be found on the body of the main temple, but a small figure of the same deity appears on one of the four small corner temples standing in the north-east corner. The deity shows a broken tusk in the upper right hand, a *japāmāla* in the lower right, a cup full of *modakas* in the upper left and in the lower left, the upper part of a *kuṭhāra* stuck to the ground. There is a mouse on the pedestal. In the planet slabs on the doors of both the *Jagamohana* and the *Vimāna*, Ketu is shown present; the number of the planets has thus increased to nine.

The *Jagamohana*, like the *Vimāna* contains the eight guardian deities in the eight cardinal points, but they are the exact parallels of the same deities that appear on the *Vimāna*. One peculiarity about

the sculptures of this temple deserves special attention. It is that both the Śaiva and the Śākta deities have been depicted in their terrific forms. On the western facade of the main temple the figure of Chāmuṇḍā carved by the side of Nairṛita, holds a trident and a *nṛi-muṇḍa* (human head) and stands upon a corpse with a jackal biting its head. Another figure of the same deity carved on the northern wall of the *Jagamohana*, wears only a loin-cloth and holds a *nṛi-muṇḍa* and a *kharpara.* A jackal licks the blood dropping from the *nṛi-muṇḍa*, while another animal, presumably a buffalo, looks up in between the thighs of the deity. There are also some other minor representations of the deities of this type. Śiva here has very often been depicted in a terrific form. In the images of Ekapāda-Śiva, Arddha-nārīśvara and Andhaka-vadha-mūrti, he is found with a garland of skulls.

As already observed, the temple of Kedāreśvara (*c.* A.D. 1100) has no sculptures except the three *pārśva-devatās* and some decorative female figures. The *pārśva-devatās* Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Durgā which are enshrined in their respective niches in the temple, have almost identical attributes and characteristics as such deities have in the Brahmeśvara temple.

The sculptures of the Megheśvara temple (*c.* A.D. 1195) have suffered much from wear and tear on account of the fact that it is built of a soft and gritty variety of sandstone. Besides, it being situated in the furthest north-east corner of Bhubaneswar without human habitation in the near neighbourhood, the work of despoliation has been carried on almost unmolested. There are signs of deliberate breakages in the body of the temple, which indicate that not only the *pārśva-devatās*, but also many of the decorative female figures have been cut away. In the southern niche, the feet of Gaṇeśa still remaining indicate that the other portions of its body have been forcibly removed. Nevertheless, the temple still retains some important cult images of iconographical interest. The guardian deities are to be found in their respective directions, but they do not possess any special features or attributes different from those of the same deities in the Brahmeśvara temple. They have suffered so much from damage that their distinguishing peculiarities also cannot be correctly ascertained. Of the three *pārśva-devatās* only Kārttikeya is to be found in the eastern niche, but it is in no way different from the one in the Brahmeśvara already described. The pedestal of Gaṇeśa still remaining in the southern niche, contains a mouse.

Four of the images of this temple deserve special mention. Of

these, the image of Lakulī to be found on the southern facade, is seated cross-legged with a *yoga-paṭṭa* tied to the knees and with a *lakuṭa* placed on the left shoulder. Four bearded figures, two on each side, are found in association with the deity (Fig. 128). The second represents the scene of *Godhana-haraṇa* by Brahmā. A mutilated central figure in the scene is Śrī-Kriṣna seated on a couch or stool with female figures, no doubt Gopīs, on both sides, and with a herd of cows on the pedestal. A little bearded figure is to be found in the right top corner, witnessing the whole scene. The bearded figure should be identified with Brahmā. The third image to be found on the southern side represents perhaps a form of Durgā. It holds in the upper right hand a *chakra*, in the lower right a club, in the upper left a *śaṅkha* and in the lower left a long bow (*śārṅga*). The figure on the pedestal is defaced, but it seems to be a lion. The attributes in the hands may tentatively lead to an identification of the deity with Vaisṇavī, but the lion-mount is a distinct cognizance which associates the deity with Durgā who is also known to have such attributes as the above in one or other of her innumerable forms. The fourth figure is a six-handed Naṭarāja holding in the uppermost two hands a snake, in the middle two a trident and a *dambaru*, the lowermost two showing dance poses. Nandī is shown on the pedestal along with two human figures holding musical instruments. Various representations of Śiva are also to be found in the *vādas*, but their characteristics are too damaged to be made out.

The outer and inner walls of the *Jagamohana* are entirely plain. A relieving feature, as we have already said, is provided by the Nāga *stambhas* to be found on either side of the door. In the planet slabs in the doors of both the *Jagamohana* and the sanctuary, Ketu is present. At the bottoms of the door jambs in the cella, in addition to the Śaiva *dvārapālas* Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa, Gaṅgā and Yamunā are also found.

The Ananta-Vāsudeva temple (A.D. 1278) being a Vaisṇava shrine, the cult images appearing on it are necessarily different from those of the Śaiva temples. But there are some images which are common to the temples of both the sects. These images are those of the *dikpālas* or the guardian deities which appear, as in the Brahmeśvara and the Megheśvara not only on the *Vimāna* but also on the *Jagamohana* of the Ananta-Vāsudeva. In all these temples the characteristics, attributes and mounts of these deities are almost the same, but the innovation that is to be found in the Ananta-Vāsudeva is that here

they are represented with their female counterparts. Indra, for instance, appears along with Indrāṇī, both being carved one above the other and both having identical characteristics, weapons and mounts. The appearance of the female counterparts of the guardian deities on the Bhubaneswar temples has an important bearing on their chronology, which we shall discuss later on.

Of the other cult images that appear on this temple, mention may be made of the images of the Boar and Dwarf incarnations of Viṣṇu which are respectively enshrined in the southern and northern niches. These images have been badly mutilated, but what remains of them indicates that they are in no way different from their prototypes of the late Medieval Period. On the northern side of the *Jagamohana* five balustrades, that make up the window, have each an image on its outer face. These images on the northern side make up a group of five consisting of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Hanumān and Vibhīṣaṇa (Fig. 137). In the identical position on the southern side there were also five images consisting of Śrī-Kriṣna and Gopīs, but three of the balustrades have somehow become detached and have now been utilized in a miniature temple on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara in the near vicinity. A few other cult images like Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī appear on the *Jagamohana* near the balustraded window in the north, but they possess no special iconographical features worthy of note.

The temple of Pāpanāśinī has no cult image except a Naṭarāja on the northern facade, which will be noticed later on.



VI

THREE MOST NOTABLE TEMPLES OF THE PLACE

AN account of Bhubaneswar can never be complete without the proper assessment of the historical value of the three most notable temples of the place. These temples are the Mukteśvara, the Rājarāṇī and the Liṅgarāja which by reason of their outstanding character, form a special attraction to visitors and archaeologists alike. It is however unfortunate that their history and chronology still remain undecided and disputed. We propose to throw some light on these points by a study of their art and architecture.

THE TEMPLE OF MUKTEŚVARA

The Mukteśvara[1], the earliest of the three, is one of the most beautiful temples of India and has been described by Mr M. M. Ganguly[2] as a dream realized in sandstone. Elegantly decorated from top to bottom, it stands within a gracefully laid-out low compound wall with a beautiful *toraṇa* in front (Figs. 55-56). Apart from its beautiful sculptures that eloquently speak of the sense of proportion and perspective of the sculptors and their extraordinary skill in depicting the objects of the most minute character with great exactitude, the temple also reveals some notable features both in architecture and in the attributes of the cult images, which with some or no modifications came to be the standard of all the other important temples that followed it. Here we find a porch which marks the beginning of a *piḍhā* temple, well-shaped pilasters and recesses formed by them, the images carved in *alto-relievo* and *gaja-siṁha* and Nāga columns. In the cult images we find here a mouse used

[1] The temple which has been described as Mukteśvara in all works on Bhubaneswar temples, is locally known as Siddheśvara. The word Mukteśvara is grammatically incorrect. The correct form should have been Kuktīśvara.

[2] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 275.

as the mount of Gaṇeśa, a cock associated with Kārttikeya, babies carried in the arms of Sapta-māṭrikās and Ketu among the planets. The sculptures in the ceiling of its *Jagamohana* are also altogether a new conception. It is to be noted that these architectural and iconographical features are conspicuous by their absence in the early groups of temples represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Śiśireśvara, but are present in the Brahmeśvara and the succeeding temples.. The affinities of the art and architecture of the Mukteśvara temple are therefore to be found with the Brahmeśvara and not with the Paraśurāmeśvara. Notwithstanding these differences which are obvious at the first examination of the temple, Prof. R. D. Banerji seems to think that at Bhubaneswar the Mukteśvara was the immediate successor of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.[1] He also makes a curious statement that the temple of Mukteśvara "shows the use of decorative bas-reliefs of human or divine incidents for the first time in the medieval temples of Orissa."[2] But as we have already seen, the Paraśurāmeśvara whch according to him is the earliest temple of Orissa, contains in bas-relief several incidents from Śiva's life.

Although the Mukteśvara possesses architectural and sculptural affinities with the Brahmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 1060), in point of chronology the former is certainly earlier than the latter. The porch in the Mukteśvara which is a *piḍhā* temple, shows that this type of structure was still in the experimental stage and that it had not been provided with the usual crowning members to be found in its full-fledged prototypes. Some features of the earlier temples are also to be found in the Mukteśvara. Like all early temples, it is a small monument rising to a height of only 34 feet. It was built at a time when temples of great height were yet to be attempted. It contains latticed windows in the *Jagamohana*, the models of which were in all probability borrowed from the Paraśurāmeśvara. The models for its graceful octagonal compound wall and the beautiful *toraṇa* were also borrowed from the temples which are now no longer in existence, but of which the remains can still be traced at Bhubaneswar. We have seen in Chapter II that the present temple of Siddheśvara occupies the site of an earlier temple and is built of the stones of that earlier temple (Fig. 9). It has also around it the remains of the octagonal compound wall of that earlier temple. Since the Mukteśvara and Siddheśvara are situated close to each other, it will be legitimate to infer that the

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 341.
[2] Ibid., p. 352.

model of the octagonal compound wall in the Mukteśvara was derived from its prototype that existed in the site of the present Siddheśvara. Barring these two examples, no octagonal compound wall is to be found in any temple at Bhubaneswar. No *toraṇa* is also to be found in any of the existing temples at Bhubaneswar, but there is a mound in the paddy-fields known as Dola-maṇḍapa situated in between the temple town and the Brahmeśvara, which on excavation yielded the arch of a *toraṇa* along with some of its other parts and also some sculptural specimens showing the earliest types of Chaitya windows. The remains of this *toraṇa* are now in the Orissa State Museum and they show that like the Mukteśvara *toraṇa*, it was built in sections and had an arch supported by two pillars. In all likelihood this *toraṇa* which appears to be earlier, provided the model for the Mukteśvara one.

The builder of the Mukteśvara thus borrowed certain features from the early architectural tradition but also introduced new architectural designs, new art motifs and new conceptions about the iconography of the cult images. The abrupt changes in the early forms of the cult images, in the architectural designs and even in the minute details of the sculptural representations indicate that the builder of the Mukteśvara was the harbinger of a new culture. One other significant fact about the iconography may be recognized in the absence of haloes round the heads of the cult images. In the early temples the halo formed a distinguishing feature of the cult image and separated it from the secular figure. That the temple is not an exotic one is indicated on one hand by certain architectural traditions and, on the other, by the persistence of its innovations in all the other notable temples that followed it. In fact, the Mukteśvara divides the numerous temples of Bhubaneswar into two broad groups, early and late, and any of its innovations can confidently be taken as the basis of such a division. We can, for instance, take the omission of the haloes from the cult images or the presence of a cock by the side of a Kārttikeya as the basis of such a division. We shall try to fix the date of this unique monument in a subsequent chapter, but here it is enough to say that its chronological position lies somewhere between the Śiśireśvara (*c.* A.D. 800) and the Brahmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 1060) temples.

The *Vimāna*, square in ground plan, stands on a raised platform and has five *pāgas* or pilasters on each facade. The base shows the usual sub-divisions such as *pāda*, *kumbha*, *pāṭa*, *kaṇi* and *vasanta*, which are present in the Brahmeśvara and the succeeding temples. This five-fold division is absent in all other earlier monuments. The pilasters,

unlike those of the Paraśurāmeśvara and Śiśireśvara, are well formed and are with recesses containing *Gaja-siṁha* and Nāga columns. As in the earlier temples, each of the facades has three niches which contained *pārśva-devatās*, but are now empty. Likewise, there is also a sunken panel which marks the transition between the cubical and curvelinear portions of the temple. In the earlier temples all images have been carved in shallow niches or medallions, but here for the first time the principle of carving images in *alto-relievo* is to be noticed. The earlier practice has not however been altogether abandoned, for, some images appear in niches both in the cubical portion and the *śikhara*. The *śikhara* is short and it had four Naṭarājas and the four *kīrtti-mukhas* on four facades. The Naṭarāja figure on the western facade has become detached and has now found place in a miniature temple situated within the same compound. As in the earlier temples, no *aṅga-śikharas* appear on the body of the main tower. The top portion of the *śikhara* has the usual crowning members.

The ground plan of the *Jagamohana* is starlike. Its pyramidal roof rising in tiers or steps which diminish as they ascend, ends at the centre and is crowned by a *kalasa*, but there is no *āmalaka* as in the later *piḍhā* temples. The *vādas* on the northern and southern sides have the broadest central pilasters which project out of the main plan of the temple and have each a perforated window with a square frame. The portions of the roof above the windows are of different orientation. They rise in two tiers with the *piḍhās* or steps of the roof and are surmounted by the lions. The ends of the tiers in their horizontal positions have *makaras* swallowing fish. As in the main temple the recesses in between the pilasters have *Gaja-siṁhas* and Nāga-columns.

Just in front of the door of the *Jagamohana* stands the beautiful *toraṇa* already referred to (Figs. 55-56). The basements of the pillars supporting the arch, square in section, contain on each face a miniature temple flanked at the top by twin *Gaja-siṁhas*. The sixteen-sided shafts consist each of four blocks of stone of which the topmost has loops of pearl-strings hanging down from the mouths of a row of *kīrtti-mukhas* above. Superimposed on the topmost block are to be found a *vedikā*, an *āmalaka* and finally a spreading lotus capital. The arch itself, built in transverse section, has a ridge at the top and is surmounted by a *kalasa*. The designs on both the halves are identical and they consists of exquisitely beautiful scrolls, a pair of female figures in a most graceful pose, ornamental niches, and figures of monkeys, peacocks etc. At each end of the arch there is a projecting

makara-mukha. The total effect of all these decorative designs has been to make it the most beautiful product of art.

The outer face of the octagonal low compound wall is decorated with a number of rectangular niches superimposed by stylized Chaitya arches. Each of these niches contains a wheel, a lotus medallion or a medallion with a beautiful scroll, and the Chaitya arches contain in each a human or an animal head. The faces in the human heads show various expressions and indicate various stages of human life, some being youthful and others aged. By the strokes of his chisel, the artist has succeeded in making these miniature representations most lifelike, some faces being most serious and contemplative and others most humorous or grotesque. At each turn of the octagonal compound wall, the outer face also has square niches containing deities.

These are in the main the architectural arrangements of this miniature gem of Orissan architecture, in which each part has been so well placed and so elegantly executed that the whole has been an epitome of beauty.

All the side niches both in the main temple and the *Jagamohana* have been robbed of their images. Whether these niches contained *dikpālas* or other deities, it is difficult to determine at present. In the door jambs of both the *Jagamohana* and the sanctuary, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been carved by the side of Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa. Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand respectively on a *makara* and a tortoise, hold vases in their hands and have each a parasol over the head, held up by a female attendant. It is to be recalled that these representations are entirely different from those of the same deities carved on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. On the lintel of the *Jagamohana* occurs a badly mutilated four-handed male deity with two emaciated ascetics by his side, each seated on a lotus rising from the pedestal of the central figure. The deity may be Śiva or Lakulīśa, but because of its mutilated condition, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion. The door lintel of the sanctuary contains a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī and in the usual position, nine planets are to be found. Ketu which occurs among the planets and which is the only one of its type among the numerous figures of Ketu to be found on the Bhubaneswar temples, is represented by a canopy of a three-hooded snake over the head. Rāhu is represented by its head only and not by a half-bust figure as in the earlier temples (Fig. 122).

The ceiling of the *Jagamohana* contains most beautiful sculptures which have been referred to by the earlier scholars, but nothing

definite has been spoken of them. The decorations here have been conceived in the form of a canopy with an eight-petalled lotus at the centre, each petal being occupied by a deity. These deities constitute a group of Sapta-māṭrikās with Vīreśvara. The main difference of the group from the earlier ones is that all the *Mātrikās*, except Chamuṇḍā, hold babies in their arms and that Vīreśvara holds a sword in the right hand. On the outer edges of the lotus there appear several panels of sculptures. Among these may be recognized Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, several narrative scenes, like Pārvatī's penance and dancing and musical parties. Kārttikeya sits holding a *śakti* in the left hand, with a peacock to his right and a cock to the left. He has three male attendants by his side, of whom two are to be found to his left and one to the right. In a similar panel on the west, occurs an eight-handed dancing Gaṇeśa, holding in the uppermost two hands a snake over the head. In the remaining six hands of which two are lost, *modakas*, a battle-axe, a broken tusk and lotus are to be found. One attendant to the left of the deity strikes cymbals and another to the right, an *aṅkya-mṛidaṅga*. The scrolls, arabesques, flying Vidyādharas, and intertwined tails of Nāgas and Nāgīs enhance the beauty of these sculptures which may truly be regarded as some of the masterpieces of Orissan art. But situated as they are at a difficult place and being always in the dark, they have rarely yielded to the camera of a photographer.

A few cult images also occur on the outer walls of the temple and the *Jagamohana*, but all of them are found in their miniature forms. On the south-east corner of the latter, there is a miniature Gaṇeśa with the usual attributes and with a minute figure of a mouse standing on the hind-legs. A similar Gaṇeśa is found on the southern facade of the temple also, but most interesting and numerous among these miniature images are those of Lakulīśa found all over the body of the temple. They are usually found within ornamented Chaitya arches, showing various *mudrās* such as *Yoga*, *Bhūmisparśa* and *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana* and, in some cases, with *yogapaṭṭas* tied to their knees. They are not accompanied by the figures of their disciples, as in the Lakulī images of the earlier temples.

We have already stated that a number of cult images occur in the square niches carved on the outer face of the low compound wall. Since the iconographical peculiarities of these deities help us in determining the chronological position of the temple, a list of them with short descriptions is given below. The list follows their order from the southern side and ends with the northern.

1. Sarasvatī: She sits on a lotus, holding a long *vīṇā* in both hands and with two two female attendants on both sides.

2. A mutilated Vārāhī: She holds a *kharpara* in the right hand.

3. Kārttikeya: He sits with a *śakti* in the right hand, on a peacock shown to front.

4. Gaṇeśa with usual attributes and a mouse on the pedestal.

5. An emaciated four-armed male deity. He sits on a tiger skin holding a long staff with a battle-axe attached to the top, between a bent left hand. The corresponding right hand holds a *kharpara* near the breast. The figure of an elephant is shown behind, while a jackal seated on the hind-legs looks up at the deity. The emaciated figure may represent the Gajāsura-saṁhāra-mūrtti of Śivā (Fig. 58).

6. Lakulī: He is seated cross-legged with a *yoga-paṭṭa* tied to the knees and shows *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana mudrā.* Two miniature ascetics, who may be taken as the disciples of Lakulī, appear in the triangular side panels at the top.

7. Durgā: She holds a *khaḍga* and a vase. A lion and a deer are to be found on the pedestal.

8. Avalokiteśvara: He holds a lotus with stalk in the left hand. The right hand hangs down with the palm upturned. Two attendant figures are now damaged (Fig. 61).

9. A male figure holding in the right hand an indistinct object, perhaps a purse, in which case the figure may represent the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera.

10. Lakulī sits in *Bhūmi-sparsa-mudrā* and holds a *lakuṭa* (Fig. 62).

11. The Buddha seated in *yoga-mudrā* under a Bodhi tree which has been represented here by two leaves, one on each side of the head of the deity (Fig. 59).

12. A mutilated figure of Durgā.

13. Kārttikeya holds in the left hand a cock seated on the left thigh. The right hand hangs down with the palm upturned. The peacock-mount is to be found on the right (Fig. 99).

14. Sūrya with two lotuses in the hands.

These are the main deities to be found in the square niches, but there are also a number of miniature niches, surmounted by miniature Chaitya arches, in which a number of very minute figures are to be found. Most of these minute figures are nude and stand in the same posture as the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras do (Fig. 60). The appearance of the Buddhist and Jaina images side by side with the Brāhmaṇical ones, indicates that the builder of the temple was a man of eclectic views.

The Temple of Rājarāṇī

The names of all the Śaiva temples at Bhubaneswar end with *īśvara*, e.g. Paraśurāmeśvara, Brahmeśvara, Mitreśvara, Yameśvara, Tribhuvaneśvara etc. and the names of the non-Śaiva temples have been derived from their presiding deities, e.g. Gaurī temple, Pārvatī temple, Mohinī temple and Ananta-Vāsudeva temple etc. But the temple under review alone bears a peculiar name for explaining the origin of which some fantastic stories have been invented by the local people. The mystery about this most beautiful and magnificent edifice has been enhanced by the fact that at present it contains no deity in the cella. Mr M. M. Ganguly rightly rejects a story which represents it as a pleasure resort of an Orissan king (rājā) and his queen (rāṇī), for, had it been so, it should have been provided with outhouses and stables etc. But both in art and architecture, the Rājarāṇi possesses all the elements of a temple structure, viz. a *Jagamohana*, side niches, the *dikpālas*, and the Nava-graha slabs both on the *Jagamohana* and the *Vimāna*. Mr Ganguly is probably right in thinking that the present name Rājarāṇī has been derived from a "very fine-grained yellowish sandstone called Rājarāṇiā in common parlance"[1] with which the entire edifice has been built. We cannot, however, accept his view that it was a Vaisṇava temple.[2] There is a mass of evidence on the body of the temple itself, which has escaped his notice, and which thoroughly repudiates such a view. We shall presently show that the original name of the temple was Indreśvara and that it was a Śaiva shrine.

Although, the Rājarāṇī temple has been one of the notable monuments of the place, such a name does not occur in any of the four Sānskrit texts that profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox standpoint. In the list of the temples given by each of these works, a temple known as Indreśvara has been placed to the east of the Siddheśvara, situated in the compound of the Mukteśvara. The twenty-fourth chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* fixes the position of the Indreśvara to the east of the Siddheśvara and indicates the close proximity of the former with the latter by the word *adūreṇa* (not far). Of all the temples, the beauty of this temple has also been most lavishly praised. The ninth chapter of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* places the

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 313.

[2] Ibid. Following Mr Ganguly, Mr R. Chanda also says: "The old Vaisṇava temple at Bhubaneswar, the magnificent Rājarāni, should probably be assigned to Aniyankabhima's father." *Ann. Rep. Archl. Survey, Ind.*, 1923-4, pp. 119-22.

temple of Chakreśvara to the east of the Siddheśvara and then speaks of the Indreśvara. Even now there is a small temple known as Chakreśvara standing in the paddy-fields in between the Siddheśvara and the Rājarāṇī. In the fourteenth chapter of the *Ekāmra-Chandrikā*, after the Siddheśvara and the Mukteśvara, mention has been made of the Śakreśvara which is no doubt a synonym of the Indreśvara. Like the other works, the fifteenth chapter of the *Kapilasaṁhitā* places the Indreśvara to the east of the Siddheśvara and gives the distance between the two as 70 cows.[1] In all these works the distances between the shrines have been recorded in the number of cows (*dhenvantaras*). According to them to the distances between the Liṅgarāja on one hand and the Brahmeśvara, Kapileśvara and Rameśvara on the other are respectively 1,130, 1,016 and 970 cows. Since all these temples are situated about a mile or a little more than a mile from the Liṅgarāja temple, a distance of 70 cows as given between the Siddheśvara and the Indreśvara conforms to that between the Siddheśvara and the Rājarāṇī. There appears to be no doubt, hence, that the temple of Rājarāṇī bore the name of Indreśvara at least up to the time when these works were compiled and that its present name has probably been derived from the name of the sandstone used in it.

Mr M. M. Ganguly observes: "On examining the *khura pṛiṣṭha*, or upper plinth carved as it is with the petals of lotus, it appears that the temple was meant for being dedicated to Visṇu."[2] This feature in itself is really no weighty evidence to connect the temple of Rājarāṇī with a Vaiṣṇava shrine. As Prof. R. D. Banerji has pointed out,[3] such lotus petals are found carved in the Hindu and even the Jaina temples of the South Mahratta country. There are certain features in the temple, which have escaped the notice of the earlier scholars, but which undisputably prove the Saivite origin of the monument. In the usual positions of the door jambs of the *Jagamohana* occur the Śaiva door-keepers, Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa, which are close prototypes of the similar door-keepers of the later temples, particularly of the Megheśvara and the Brahmeśvara. The *dvārapāla* carved on the right jamb stands, holding in the right hand a long trident stuck to the ground and allowing the left to hang down freely.

[1] The distance between the Siddheśvara and the Indreśvara, given as 70 *dhenvantaras*, indicates that if 70 cows are made to stand in a line, this distance will be covered.
[2] *Ann. Rep. Archl. Survy. Ind.*, 1923-4, p. 313.
[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 360.

It wears *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, a garland of skulls reaching to the thighs and a snake that issues forth from the right ear. The face is damaged, but it was probably bearded like that of the *dvārapāla* in the Megheśvara temple. The door-keeper on the left jamb also holds a similar long trident and has *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and a snake issuing forth from the ear. These door-keepers are characteristically Saivite and cannot be expected to be present on the door of a Vaisṇava temple. Besides, on the lintel of the *Jagamohana* occurs an image of Lakulīśa seated in *yoga-mudrā*, holding a *lakuṭa* and has four disciples on the side panels. The disciples here, as in the Megheśvara temple, have been represented as emaciated and bearded figures and have their right hands raised in *abhaya-mudrā*; only two of them are seated on lotuses. On both sides of the Lakulī image, the lintel was carved with eight bearded and emaciated ascetics kneeling side by side in a row with fan-shaped *jaṭā-bhāras* on their heads and carrying on their backs the pots hung from their shoulders (Fig. 130). The right half of the row with four ascetics is in the complete form but on the left, the lintel has broken off and has been replaced by a plain stone. These ascetics are no doubt the Pāśupata teachers, occurring as they do in association with Lakulī and his disciples.

These sculptures alone repudiate the theory that the Rājarāṇī was ever a Vaisṇava temple, but there are also other Śaiva sculptures on the body of the main temple. The side niches have been robbed of their images, but at the bases of the southern and northern niches have been carved the scenes of Liṅga-worship (Fig. 63). Besides, the main temple also contains on its facades three panels which show Śiva and his female counterpart dancing in the company of attendants holding musical instruments (Figs. 120, 64). In a rectangular shallow niche nearer to the *Jāgamohana* on the south, occurs a beautiful image of Pārvatī holding in the upper left hand, a club. In the lower left hand, she holds a lotus with stalk, which rising from the pedestal passes through the left arms of the deity (Fig. 111). This conventional form of Pārvatī which the priests of Bhubaneswar call Niśā-Pārvatī has, as a rule, been enshrined in the northern niches of all the later Śaiva temples, including the Liṅgarāja. A scene probably representing a simple form of Śiva's marriage also occurs on the western side below the central niche. Śiva sits here wearing the crown of a bridegroom and leaning against a pillow, while Pārvatī standing in front of him, extends her hand which is caught by Śiva's right hand. Two attendants, one holding a fly-whisk and

the other a *vīṇā*, appear in the scene. We have already described an elaborate scene of Śiva's marriage that occurs on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, but the simple types of Śiva's marriage, like the one under discussion, are not uncommon in the Indian sculptures. Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao gives some illustrations of Śiva's marriage, called *Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis*, in which the marriage has been indicated by the joining of the hands of Śiva and Pārvatī.[1] It is interesting to note here that Śiva here greatly resembles the Śiva of an elaborately carved panel on the southern door of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple, representing his marriage to Pārvatī.

These sculptures coupled with the fact that the temple has been described as Indreśvara in the local Sanskrit works, leave little room for doubt that it was a Śaiva shrine. There should also be no doubt that it originally contained a deity, because the temple finds mention in the lists of the temples given in the orthodox texts intended as the pilgrims' guide. An unconsecrated temple without a deity is not likely to find mention in the sacred literature. The exigency of removing the presiding deity probably arose when the *Jagamohana* collapsed, blocking the way to the cella of the main temple. As is apparent from Arnott's *Report*, the *Jagamohana* had become a heap of ruins when it was repaired in 1903.[2]

Eight guardian deities appear in their proper places on the body of the main temple, but they are in no way different from their prototypes in the temples of Brahmeśvara, and the Megheśvara, except that the image of Kubera which has on its pedestal a *kalpa-vṛiksa* (wish-fulfilling tree) with eight posts attached to it, perhaps representing *ashṭa-nidhis*. Consistently with the magnificent wealth of sculptures which the temple possesses, these guardian deities have been the most glamorous and successful group to be found on any temple at Bhubaneswar (Fig. 66). The *Jagamohana* is entirely plain, but there are signs to show that carvings had begun at some points, particularly near the balustraded windows. As in the *Jagamohana* of the Megh-eśvara, on both sides of the door, there are two columns with a Nāga and a Nāgī at their tops holding garlands in their hands. The absence of carvings on the *Jagamohana* does not indicate that the temple was neither completed nor consecrated, because, the temples of which the *Jagamohanas* have remained uncarved, but in which worship is still

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 337-50.

[2] *Report with photographs of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Bhubaneswar and caves in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, India*, between 1898 and 1903. Plate 9.

going on, are not rare at Bhubaneswar. The notable examples are theVaitāl and Mohinī temples.

Both Prof. R. D. Banerji and Mr M. M. Ganguly have taken the Rājarāṇī to be an exotic temple, because of the fact that the *aṅga-śikharas* (the miniature *śikharas* on the body of the main tower) appear on its body as sharp projections, but not as part of the wall surface as in the Liṅgarāja and the Brahmeśvara (Figs. 65, 142). In the absence of any definite evidence, these features should not however be traced to an extraneous source, but should rather be considered as a logical evolution of a process that had begun long ago. We have seen that on the corner pilasters of the earlier temples, *bhūmi-āmalakas* occur at regular intervals and we have also seen that *aṅga-śikharas* occur on the bodies of the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja as part of the wall surface. These architectural features were elaborated in the projecting turrets that we find on the Rājarāṇī. The Rājarāṇī is not, however, the only temple at Bhubaneswar to bear these miniature *śikharas* as sharp projections. There are several other temples bearing the same features. Of these mention should separately be made of the Dākrā Bhīmeśvara situated on the road to Puri within a short distance of the eastern gate of the Liṅgarāja, which bears the same features almost in the same forms. The temple of Koṭitīrtheśvara also bears them on the *gaṇḍi*, though in somewhat modified form. These turrets had the effect of breaking up the graceful contours of the *gaṇḍi* and were moreover easily liable to breakage or cracks. So they seem to have been considered architecturally unsound, and discontinued after an experiment on only a few examples. Bereft of the projecting miniature *śikharas*, the Rājarāṇī is otherwise a *pañcharatha* temple with the usual elements peculiar to the type. The *Jagamohana* likewise follows the traditional style of a *piḍhā* temple, but the usual crowning members are absent from it. Its summit is similar to that of the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara. As we have already shown, at the time of repairs, it had become a heap of ruins, and it is now difficult to say whether it had originally the usual crowning members. No exotic influence is to be found on the vast wealth of beautiful sculptures of the Rājarāṇī, which, as we shall show in the subsequent chapters, possess close affinities with the similar decorations of several other temples. It is difficult to determine the date of this famous temple, which we shall however discuss later on. But it seems most likely that its chronological position lies between the Mukteśvara and the Brahmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 1060).

The Temple of Liṅgarāja

The temple of Liṅgarāja is by far the most notable temple not only of Bhubaneswar, but also of Orissa, and according to expert opinions is also one of the best archaeological monuments of the East. Rising to a height of about 180 feet and dominating the entire landscape within an area of about ten miles, this great temple represents the quintessence of the Kāliṅga type of architecture and the culminating result of the architectural activities at Bhubaneswar. It stands in the midst of a number of smaller temples within a spacious comound of laterite measuring 520 feet in length and 465 feet in breadth and having gates on the east, north and south. So much has been said about its architectural features that very little remains to be said. Prof. R. D. Banerji records from his personal observation that the sanctuary is a hollow pyramid composed of several superimposed chambers, the access to which is obtained by a staircase built through the thickness of the wall.[1] This new technique was perhaps necessitated on account of the extreme height of the tower which could not be sustained by a single roof as in the smaller temples. Barring this peculiarity, the sanctuary is otherwise a *pañcha-ratha deul* having close architectural affinities with the Brahmeśvara temple. We have already noticed in Chapter IV the special features connected with its plinth, *aṅga-śikharas* and walls while comparing it with the Kaṇḍaryā temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and we have also discussed in the same chapter the indigenous process by which this structure was raised to such a great height.

Like the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, it has a three-chambered frontal component consisting of the *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. There are clear evidences at the point of juncture that may indicate that the *Jagamohana* was a later addition; but since both the structures are built of the same type of sandstone and have sculptures representing the same line of artistic tradition, it can safely be concluded that both the sanctuary and the *Jagamohana* formed parts of the same original scheme especially as these two components formed at the time the temple complex proper. The next two structures, namely the *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa* are, however, much later than both the sanctuary and the *Jagamohana*, because they are built of an altogether different type of sandstone and because their sculptures bear the obvious signs of the artistic development and peculiarities

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 359 ff.

of a later period. The roof and the crowning members of the *Jagamohana* are similar to those of the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmeśvara and like the latter it had also balustraded windows in the north and the south, which have now been blocked up. Both the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* are open halls and the former has a flat roof.

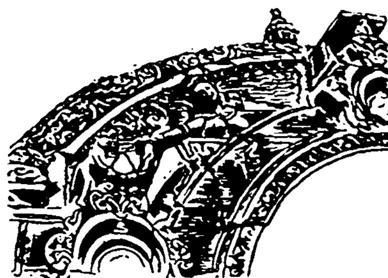
In their attributes and distinctive treatment, the cult images of the Liṅgarāja are similar to those of the Brahmeśvara. The *dikpālas* with their distinctive mounts and attributes appear in their respective positions, but only on the temple walls and not on the *Jagamohana* as in the Brahmeśvara. The images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī appear respectively in the southern, western and northern niches of the sanctuary, which, with the smaller structures built in front of them, have been converted into subsidiary shrines. These smaller structures betraying a lack of artistic taste and obscuring the sculptures in the basement of the sanctuary, are certainly later additions and could not have been designed by the builders of this magnificent monument. The life-size images of the *pārśva-devatās* are all chlorite which must have been imported from a distant place and which were used to ensure greater permanence and to bring out finer details of artistic designs. Except the figure of Gaṇeśa, these marvellous images have been sadly mutilated, but nevertheless, even in their mutilated condition, they cannot fail to arouse admiration from any discerning observer. Fine scroll work that must have entailed months of labour for incision decorate the garments of the deities. The magnificent backgrounds against which these deities appear, indicate a supreme artistic taste and the zenith of the decorative art of the period.

Among the other cult images, mention may be made of an image of Kārttikeya that occupies the medallion enclosed by the largest Chaitya arch in the east. He is shown here in the earlier form riding a peacock to front and holding a *śakti* in the left hand. An image of Mahiṣamardinī is to be found in the southern facade of the *Jagamohana*. The main feature to be noticed in this representation is that the victim is not a buffalo-headed demon, but a buffalo, from the decapitated trunk of which a male figure is shown as issuing forth. The only image of Lakulīśa that appears on the front facade of the sanctuary has been blocked from view by the ascending tiers of the roof in the *Jagamohana*. Lakulī is accompanied by four figures, two on each side (Fig. 127).

The three distinct episodes are to be found on the walls of the

sanctuary and of the *Jagamohana*. One of them is an elaborate scene of Śiva's marriage to be found on the southern door of the *Jagamohana*. Śiva wearing the crown of a bridegroom, but none-the-less appearing perfectly naked, is found in the centre of the scene sitting in front of a man with matted hair, who may be identified with Bhṛikūṭi. Pārvatī is being led to Agni which is represented as a human figure with flames rising on all sides and by the side of which Brahmā is to be found. There are also other gods riding on their respective mounts. The scene has been disfigured by the application of modern paint to the images, perhaps in recent times. The second episode to be found on the southern facade of the sanctuary is that of Yaśodā churning curds and the child Śrī-Kriṣna disturbing her. The images of Nanda, Yaśodā and Śrī-Kriṣna are in a good state of preservation and they form an attractive panel (Fig. 83B). It has been noticed by Mr R. Chanda[1] and Prof. R. D. Banerji.[2] The third episode representing a simple form of Śiva's marriage on the western side of the *Vimāna*, has also been noticed by them.[3]

The temple of Liṅgarāja being the most important monument of the place, we shall have occasion to dwell upon its date at some length, but for the present it may be said that it is a close contemporary of the Brahmeśvara, which according to the chronology adopted by us, was built in about A.D. 1060.



[1] *Annual Report of Archl. Survey of India*, 1923-4, pp. 199-222.
[2] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Plates between pp. 412-13.
[3] Ibid.

VII

DECORATIVE MOTIFS

SO far we have spoken of only the cult images that appear on the dated and some of the most important temples, but nothing of the decorative motifs. Because of their bewildering varieties, each motif or pattern forms the subject for a separate study; but here we shall review them as a whole and note down the points of their historical and chronological significance. By reason of their prominence and number and variety the erotic sculptures and decorative female figures form classes by themselves, but other innumerable decorative motifs, human, animal, vegetable, architectural and geometrical, may be reserved for a general treatment.

1. Erotic Figures

Because of their revolting character, the erotic figures on the religious edifices claim greater attention and come in for greater criticism. To a discerning visitor they appear to be a disturbing feature in the otherwise serene atmosphere of a religious shrine, and he is therefore led to seek an explanation for their presence. But so far no satisfactory explanation seems to have been available. Mr M. M. Ganguly calls them "a most perplexing feature of Orissan architecture"[1] and Prof. R. D. Banerji observes that "the presence of indecent figures on religious edifices is still a puzzle."[2] Local enquiries at Puri and Bhubaneswar generally elicit two kinds of explanations, of which the one given by the temple priests can be summarily rejected. The priests maintain that the presence of obscene figures prevents the temples from being struck by lightning. The idea of indecent figures serving as a proof against lightning is unacceptable to the modern man. Even if we take it to be an orthodox explanation,

[1] *Orissā and Her Remains*, pp. 227-8.
[2] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401.

we should note that it has originated with the present generation of priests, for, the *Śilpa-śāstras* which generally give, in their orthodox way, an explanation for each aspect of temple architecture, do not support this explanation of the priests. The second type of explanation which generally emanates from enlightened people, is that the obscene figures are the result of the deliberate attempt of the sculptors to depict life in all its naked reality. In support of their theory they cite the examples of Greek sculptures which exhibit the anatomical treatment of the limbs and in which nudity is sometimes conspicuously shown. But they fail to perceive the distinction between the nude images and the obscene or erotic figures which appear on the Orissan temples. The latter form a class by themselves, in which obscenity has been represented not as a necessary element of artistic requirements, but to depict the sexual relations of men and women in all their nakedness. They also do not explain how the obscene sculptures were allowed to exist on the religious edifices without a religious sanction for their existence.

In order to avoid confusion, it is necessary to define the precise meaning of erotic or obscene figures. By obscene or erotic figures, we mean here only those sculptures which represent the different poses of the sexual act, as described in the *Kāma-śāstra*, or otherwise conceived by the human mind. If we widen the connotation beyond this scope, many of the religious sculptures, including a large number of cult images, will have to be dubbed as obscene and no school of Indian art and religion will be found free from them. Indeed, the very conception of Śaivism with which we are mainly concerned here, owes its origin to the elements which, in common parlance, can be called obscene. We may even go a step further and agree with some of the philosophers that the very conception of religion has generated from the sexual impulse in the human mind. We are not, however, concerned with the metaphysical sense of obscenity. The problems with which we are confronted here are: Why has a particular class of temple sculptures been so made as to make the sexual act visible to a spectator? Is there any religious sanction for these representations or were they only thoughtlessly allowed to be carved on the religious edifices? Were they confined to the religious structures of a particular sect, time or country? These are the problems which we must discuss here.

It is not a fact that obscene figures represent an isolated phenomenon in the temples of Orissa alone. They occur in the "temples of Kha-

juraho in Central India, at Madura, and in certain of the eleventh-century temples of the Dekkan, as for instance, at Balsane in Khandesh, and in the Asvera at Sinnar in the Nasik district."[1] They are found in the terra-cottas in many of the modern temples in Bengal and in the paintings and decorations of metal and the wooden *rathas* of the Bengali Vaisṇavas.[2] They appear on the modern Nepalese temples of which a wooden temple built by the Nepalese near the Observatory at Banaras is a notable example. The area of their occurrence thus covers the whole of India. That they were not confined to the religious structures of a particular sect, is proved by their occurrence in the Śaiva and Śākta temples at Bhubaneswar, the Vaiṣnava temple at Puri and the Saura temple at Koṇārka. A chronological study of the Orissan temples, however, enables us to conclude that they started making their appearance on the temple structures during a particular cultural epoch and continued to be carved on them up to the end of the temple-building period in Orissa. In the earliest standing temples like the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Svarṇṇajāleśvara in which most of the sculptures have survived, the obscene sculptures are conspicuous by their absence. The amorous couples are no doubt found on them, but they do not represent sexual postures. Careful observation will reveal that they are not nude and that they have been provided with garments, the skirts of which have been indicated by the incised lines both in the male and the female figures. They cannot thus be taken to be obscene figures as we define them.

Obscene or erotic figures, in the sense we have taken them here, first make their appearance on the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara. In the latter they appear on the northern facade and in the former, in the sunken panel that marks the transition between the *vāḍas* and the super-structure. In both, such figures are not merely amorous couples which, as a distinct class, are also to be found in them, but they represent the different postures of the sexual act as practised by men and women. One panel in the northern facade of the Śiśireśvara even shows the sexual intercourse between a man and an animal which is perhaps a deer. The chronological position of these two temples have already been discussed and since the first occurrence of erotic figures in these two monuments, such sculptures continued to be featured in all the temples at Bhubaneswar whether important or not, the temple of Mukteśvara being, however, a notable exception.

[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Hindu & Buddhist* (First Edition), p. 127.
[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401.

Even in the temples which are poorest in decoration, such figures have seldom failed to make their appearance. They have been carved in *alto-relievo* in between the recesses formed by the pilasters, as in the Rājarāṇī, or have sometimes been displayed in a prominent manner on the facades of the *Vimānas* and the *Jagamohanas* alongside the other reliefs. The fact that they occur in all the temples built after the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara shows that from the epoch, which these two temples represent, it became a convention to carve them on the religious edifices. Like the *pārśva-devatās* enshrined in the side niches, the obscene figures were, as a rule, to be represented in the temples, even though other types of decoration could be omitted.

This chronological position of their first occurrence enables us, perhaps, to find out a possible explanation for their existence on the religious structures. We have already observed that the Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara were, to a great extent, influenced by the Bhauma tradition of art and culture. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism became the dominant religion under the patronage of the early Bhaumas and there are obvious influences of this religion in the art and architecture of these two monuments. We shall have the occasion later on to show that the Vaitāl temple was actually a shrine of the Kāpālikas. Although the form of religion prevalent during the early Bhauma period has been described under the spacious name of Mahāyāna Buddhism, it was in reality a strange mixture of Buddhism, Tāntrism and Pāśupatism and sundry other allied sects that came into prominence in India in the early medieval period. As an eminent scholar has pointed out, the followers of these sects walked along the same track with slight difference[1] and permitted free indulgence in the sexual act as a method of attaining religious merit. It is to this debased form of religion that the origin of the obscene figures ought to be traced. Having once been allowed to exist in the temples of a particular period, they acquired the force of a convention. Their origin was scarcely investigated by the later builders, who continued the practice of adorning the religious edifices with erotic sculptures.

The widespread influence of Tāntrism during the early Bhauma Period can be traced from various sources. As we have already said, the Puṣpagiri *Vihāra*, now represented by the Cuttack hills and Virajā or the modern town of Jajpur were the main centres of the architectural activities of the Bhauma-karas. Buddhist-Tāntrik images, including such specimens as Trailokya-Vijaya, Heruka, three-headed

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 130 ff.

Bhairava and Parṇṇa-śavarī have been discovered from these regions,[1] and many more are still to be found scattered throughout these sites. That these places represent important centres of the Tāntrik form of Buddhism, is proved not only by these archæological discoveries, but also by the literary references to them. Yuan Chwang has referred to Puṣpagiri and its monuments,[2] and a Tibetan tradition credits Bodhi-śrī with having practised *yoga* at Puṣpagiri.[3] The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, an important Buddhist work, records a prophecy in which the Lord assures Sāriputta that he would, in a distant future, be a Buddha under the name of Padma-prabha and that his place of enlightenment would be Virajā.[4] It seems even that Puṣpagiri was one of the four Tāntrik centres of primary importance (*Pīṭha-sthānas*). Such centres as are found in the heterodox Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, were four in number, viz. Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oḍḍiyāna and Jalandhara. Prof. P. C. Bagchi, an eminent authority on the Tantras, thinks that Pūrṇagiri cannot be identified.[5] It seems likely however, that Pūrṇagiri of the text might be a mistake of the copyist for Puṣpagiri. This emendation would not appear untenable in view of the fact that Puṣpagiri was, in reality, an important Buddhist-Tāntrik centre as is attested to by its immense archaeological remains including images of the Tāntrik-Buddhist pantheon. It is not unlikely that the fame of the Puṣpagiri *Vihāra* as the Tāntrik-Buddhist centre attracted foreign students like Bodhi-śrī for studies in *yoga*.

The origin of the erotic figures of the Orissan temples may thus reasonably be traced to Tāntrism, or rather to the debased form of religion that prevailed in the early Bhauma Period. But the fact remains that none of the Tāntrik or Mahāyāna centres has up till now yielded any obscene sculptures. If Tāntrism was responsible for the occurrence of such sculptures in the temples, how is it that at Puṣpagiri, the centre of Tāntrism, no such sculptures have yet been discovered? The answer to this question will probably be found in the fact that Puṣpagiri has not even been partially explored. A proper scientific exploration may yet lead to the discovery of such sculptures. It is also possible that the method of exhibiting obscene images in a Mahāyāna-Tāntrik temple was different from the one that

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Pl. bet. pp. 408-9, 416-17 and 404-5.
[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 193-4.
[3] S. C. Dass, *Paz. Sam Jon Zang.*, p. 115 (text), Pl. LXXV (Index).
[4] R. L. Mitra, *Sanskrit and Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 204.
[5] *Ind. His. Q.*, Vol. VII, 1931, p. 1 ff.

we now find in the Brāhmaṇical temples at Bhubaneswar. We know that in India Buddhism either died out or went underground. But in Tibet it is still a living faith and it represents the latest manifestation of the form of Tāntrik Buddhism of which the earlier phases can be traced to India. The following account given by a modern traveller to Tibet will serve to illustrate the purpose and use of obscene sculptures in a Tāntrik Buddhist shrine of Tibet.

"As I became more friendly with the Lāmās at Lhabraug I learned, by judicious questioning, something of what the Obscene Idol-house looked like inside and something of the awful esoteric rites performed therein.

"The Idol-house is filled with obscene images. To put it very bluntly, those idols represent all the postures the mind of man has been able to conceive having to do with copulation. When a lāmā has reached the point in his spiritual training where he believes that he can look upon the flesh without desire or emotion, he enters the Obscene Idol-house for 'post-graduate examination' and to conduct 'experimental researches'.

"Extremely life-like figures in the most lewd postures are calculated to prove to him definitely just how much good his years of concentration upon the negation of things worldly, how much his endless meditation and training in things intellectual, has done for him. After hours of chanting and meditation, it does not take too much imagination almost to see the idols move. The Tibetan artists and sculptors have done excellent work in depicting what they wish to show. The nude figures of voluptuous women play a large part in this deeply serious rite, seen in sex play with the gods and demons; for it is an attempt to make copulation a visual appeal to the senses.

"Should the lāmā find that he can look unmoved at the obscene idols he may then take up the next stage. Living women are selected and trained for this very purpose. They are beautiful—even by our standard—accomplished, and well cognizant of the seriousness and significance of their duties.

"To begin with, they dance. And they know all the dances calculated to stir the lusts of men. Usually a lāmā sits alone before them—though sometimes small groups of lāmās will perform these strange rites at the same time. So, then, the lāmā seated Buddha-wise upon a little dais watches and studies his sensual reactions, knowing all the time that the girls are his to do. . . . There is a deliberate exhibition wherein the trained girls show all the arts and wiles of

womanhood such as men always seek but so seldom find. The very acme of lustful desire is here pictured.

"And the lāmā who looks upon this without interest has certainly made progress.

"As a climax, the girls marshall all the arts and wiles of the courtesan whose duty in life is to please men and hurl them upon the lāmās in training before them, regardless, in any way and every way possible.

"Should the lāmā successfully 'pass examinations' and thus prove to himself that he is at least above temptation, he is then entitled to progress to the next stage—that of 'experimental research' which is self-explanatory."[1]

The story of the Idol-house at Lhabraug given above will show that it is meant for testing the self-restraint of a person before he is taken into the order of Lāmās or monks and that the obscene images are kept in a house but are not carved on the body of a temple. A similar purpose would have originally been responsible for the existence of the erotic figures in the Brāhmaṇical temples, or else it is difficult to believe that they could have ever been allowed to be associated with the religious edifices without a purpose or a religious sanction. The obscene figures in the Orissan temples were in all probability meant to test the self-restraint of a visitor before he was entitled to reap the merits of his visit to the god. Careful observation will reveal that in many of the obscene sculptures in the Orissan temples, the male figures are not human beings, but are gods or demons as in the Idol-houses of the Tibetan temples. Here, as in Tibet, the attempts of the sculptors have been to make copulation a visual appeal to the senses. The erotic images of the Orissan temples are thus in more than one respect analogous to their counterparts in the Tibetan temples, but they differ only in the manner of their exhibition. In Tibet they have been kept in a separate house attached to a temple and are shown to an intending Lāmā, but in Orissa they have been carved on the temples and are open to all visitors. Prof. R. D. Banerji observes that the obscene figures are found in the terra-cottas preserved in many of the modern temples of Bengal.[2] The method of keeping the obscene figures in the temples of Bengal is thus entirely similar to that in the Tibetan temples.

The obscene figures in the temples of Bhubaneswar are stereotyped

[1] Harrison Foreman, *Through Forbidden Tibet*, pp. 107-9, London, 1936.
[2] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401.

in their forms, and it is not possible to discern any chronological sequence in them.

2. Decorative Female Figures (Figs. 53, 67-72).

The second class of the decorative motifs, the female figures, are the most beautiful products of Orissan plastic art. Each of them is like a piece of a love poem written on stone, which occurring alongside the serious scenes of religious significance, the stereotyped forms of cult images or the obscene figures of shameless voluptuous poses, provides a diversion and relief to a visitor. On account of their number, various forms, poses, attributes and above all their artistic merits, they provide an attractive subject for separate study; but in a chapter like this, that attempts to deal with the innumerable decorative motifs as a whole, only a few of them possessing special significance can engage our attention.

Chronologically these figures can be divided into four or five groups, each of which is linked up with the other by a continuity of style, although such a continuity may not always be the proof of close contemporaneity or chronological succession. Certain forms persist over a prolonged period with some modifications or no modifications at all. For instance, the female opening a door with a parrot, sitting at the top, occurs in the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl, Śiśireśvara, Mukteśvara and Brahmeśvara, the dates of which, as already shown, lie between the second part of the seventh century and the middle of the eleventh. Certain changes can, however, be noticed in the female figure in this motif. In all these temples, except in the Vaitāl, the figure is secular and it serves only a decorative purpose; but in the Vaitāl, it is a deity with a halo surrounding its head (Fig. 50). Certain other forms also occur all through the above period with no modifications at all. For instance, the female figures holding babies in their arms, or bending down the branch of a tree laden with flowers, or kicking at the foot of a conventional *Aśoka* tree, or holding a mirror in the right hand and putting an ornament on the *sīmanta* (the parting of the hair), are to be found in all the temples belonging to this period. The only exceptions are the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara which have only one or two decorative forms in common with the others.

The forms of the decorative female figures can thus furnish us with no clue to their chronological order so far as the motifs themselves are concerned, but on consideration of their style and details of their

representations, they can, as already stated, be divided into some well-marked groups. The figures of the first group occurring in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, are marked by crudity and simplicity which characterize the bas-reliefs of that temple. The decorative female figures here are not found in the recesses as in the later temples, but above the smaller niches on each of its four facades. They stand under the trees but not on the lotuses or lotus leaves as their later prototypes do. The second group represented by the female figures of the Vaitāl temple, are the products of a vigorous art, marked by naturalism and equipoise. Many of them stand in natural poses under the trees not so highly stylized as in the later representations. The Vaitāl is the only temple which furnishes a few well-preserved examples of this class of sculptures; in other temples of its group, they are either absent or badly mutilated. The figures of the third group are provided by the temple of Mukteśvara in which they occur in profuse numbers and in most exquisite forms that are distinguished from the fourth group by the details of their representations. In the fourth group these decorative figures, in most cases, are found standing on the pedestals made up of full-blown lotuses or lotus leaves and having canopies over their heads, consisting of full-blown lotuses. The trees with which they have been associated, have been stylized so much that they can all be taken as creepers rather than trees. Besides, a few innovations have also been introduced into the group, which are not to be found in the earlier ones. The temples of Brahmeśvara and Liṅgarāja are found to have shared in common the largest number of them. Among them, the following figures are most strikingly similar in both the temples.

(i) The female figure standing on a full-blown lotus holds a baby and the baby pulls the pearl necklace of the mother. It occurs on the southern part of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja and the western facade of the *Vimāna* of the Brahmeśvara.

(ii) The female figure with a bird sitting on her left arm stands on a lotus or lotus leaf under a tree. It occurs on the northern facade of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja and the northern part of the same of the Brahmeśvara.

(iii) The female figure standing on a full-blown lotus, joins her hands over the head; the ends of her scarf are flying. It is to be found in the western part of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja and the southern part of the juncture between the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmeśvara.

A new motif in the fourth group which is common to both the Liṅgarāja and the Rājarāṇī is the figure that draws an anklet from her left foot, while she holds the other already drawn from the right. The Rājarāṇī has also a few new forms of its own. For instance, may be cited the motif of the female figure on the northern facade that allows a peacock to steal away pearls from the parting of her hair. This is altogether a new form not to be found in any other temple (Fig. 68).

The decorative female figures of the temples which are later than the Liṅgarāja, do not fall into well-defined categories. They are found to be unsuccessful imitations of the earlier types though lacking in their vigour and exuberance. But in the Rāmeśvara and the Kedāreśvara among the later temples, the representations of such forms have been of a most artistic character. Hidden in the recesses formed by the pilasters, most exquisitely beautiful forms of decorative female figures are to be found. They are, however, placed at considerable heights and it is not easy to catch them in the camera.

How and why did these female figures come to be associated with the Brāhmaṇical temples? Female figures as monumental decorations constitute an early practice and are first noticed in the Buddhist and the Jaina *stūpas*. The railing pillars of the Buddhist *stūpa* at Bahrut, of the Bodhi tree shrine at Bodh-Gayā and of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kāṅkāli Tilā near Mathura, have yielded a large number of female figures which are now preserved in several of the museums in India. There may be noticed certain features which link the female figures of the early monuments with those of the Orissan temples. In these two classes of monuments separated by centuries, the figures have been mostly represented with trees by their sides and in both they stand in *toraṇa-bhañjikā* or *śāla-bhañjikā* poses. Again, they are found decorating their own persons, holding beautiful objects or engaged in some kind of feminine pastime. That many of them in the early monuments represent semi-divine beings is proved by the inscriptions on the railing pillars of the Bahrut *stūpa* which describe some of them as *yakshīs*.[1] Here in the temples of Orissa, the supernatural character of the figures is proved by the fact that most of them have been represented as standing on lotuses, and sometimes with lotuses serving as canopies over their heads. It is true that in the earlier temples they are not found with lotus pedestals or haloes

[1] The female figures include *devatās* Chūlakokā (62) and Sirimā (141) and Yakṣīs, Chandrā (106) and Sudarśanā (43). N. G. Mazumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in Ind. Museum*, I., p. 22.

which are the sure signs of divinity in the earlier cult images, but since they were conceived as *yakshīs*, *apsaras*, and sylvan deities, that occupy an intermediate rank between human and divine beings, the signs of divinity might not have been thought to be necessary in their representations.

The purpose of carving these beautiful female figures both in *stūpa* and temple architecture was apparently to beautify the structures. In Orissa they have been known as *alasa-kanyās*, a term which may indicate women in idle moods. There is no doubt that some of these figures convey ideas which were well known to both poets and artists from early ages. In fact, for inspiration and for achieving grace and elegance in their creations, both the poet and the artist had to borrow ideas from a common source which was the ancient Sanskrit literature. That an *Aśoka* tree blossoms at the touch of the feet of a beautiful woman, is a conventional poetical idea which is to be found in several Sanskrit works like the *Megha-dūta*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* etc. and this conventional idea has been executed in stone by the artist in the form of a female figure kicking at the foot of a tree (Fig. 70).

Similarly, in ancient literature beautiful women have been represented as holding *līlā-kamalas*, putting ornaments on their persons, writing love letters, asking their favourite birds about the welfare of their beloved or making peacocks dance with the jingling sound of their bracelets. These ideas have been executed in stone by the artists also. We do not, however, go to the length of suggesting that certain motifs or forms have been inspired by a particular poet or poets like Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti. All that is intended to be said is that certain well-known poetical ideas were widely current in the periods when the temples were built and that the sculptors have depicted them in stone to lend charm and elegance to their creations. It is also to be noted that the sculptors in reproducing these ideas have been inspired by their beauty and appropriateness rather than by a desire to depict the real life of the society in which they lived. It will, therefore, be too much to seek in them the evidence of the real life of the age in which they were created. The objects associated with these female figures have also been more conventional than real. We cannot, for instance, conceive of a woman in real life standing on a lotus or plucking a lotus from a tree. In the temples of Mukteśvara, Brahmeśvara, Rājarāṇī and Liṅgarāja, the trees with which the female figures have been associated, have all been depicted as creepers. Sculptors, like poets, had a predilection for creepers in place of trees,

particularly when they were associated with females. Instances are not rare in Sanskrit literature where even big trees have been described as creepers. In the second canto of his work, Bhaṭṭī[1] describes Sītā as a moving and splendent *Śāla* creeper and in the seventh canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa[2] compares Indumatī with an *Aśoka* creeper and Aja with a mango tree. Following the poets, the artists have also depicted trees as creepers in association with females.

Although these female figures are conventional, certain human sentiments are not completely absent from them. Dr V. A. Smith observes: "Human sentiment is painfully rare in Indian medieval sculptures" and then he refers to the mother with the baby, that appears in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, as a welcome change.[3] It is not a fact that all medieval Indian sculptures are devoid of human sentiments. The females holding babies, plucking flowers or fruits, writing love letters, putting on ornaments or engaged in similar feminine pastimes, that we find in the Orissan temples, are not always devoid of human sentiments, although such sentiments are of universal and ideal nature. The mother with the baby, to which Dr Smith refers, is by no means a rare instance but it is a very old motif that occurs in almost all the main temples of Bhubaneswar including the Paraśurāmeśvara which is earlier than the Jagannātha temple by about four and a half centuries (Fig. 69), and in such examples one can also discern as much sentiment as has been expressed in the specimen of the Jagannātha temple.

3. Other Decorative Motifs

(a) *Chaitya Window or Arches* (Figs. 41, 116, 117)

The Chaitya windows form a very large part of the decoration in the Bhubaneswar temples. In fact, in the earlier temples all important cult images except the *pārśva-devatās*, and religious scenes are found in the medallions or shallow niches enclosed by the Chaitya windows. The form of the window or arch has changed from period to period and, therefore, such changes possess a special chronological significance which has been discussed by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[4] Prof. Banerji has shown by a comparative study how this decorative motif to be found originally in the pure Gupta form in the Paraśurāmeśvara

[1] *Jyotirmayī śāla-lateva jaṅgamā*, Bhaṭṭi, 2nd Canto, Verse, 47.
[2] *Hastena hastaṁ parigṛihya vadhvā sa rāja-sunu sutarāṁ chakāse* | *Anantarāśoka-latā-pravālaṁ prāpyeva chuta pratipallavena* || *Raghu*, 7th Canto, Verse 18.
[3] *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 125, Pl. 77A.
[4] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 402 ff.

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temple, has gradually become stylized in the later temples like the Mukteśvara, the Liṅgarāja and the Rājarāṇī. Speaking of the Chaitya windows of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, he says: "In the Paraśurāmeśvara we meet with Chaitya windows on the body of the *Vimāna* and the Śikhara which are very slightly stylized in form; but on the façades of the *Jagamohana* there are quite a number of Chaitya window motifs carved in very low relief of the pure early Gupta style with large medallions, with a round or with a long angular projection towards the top, proving that the structure which bears them cannot be very far removed from the Imperial Gupta Period. These Chaitya windows fall into two different divisions.

"I. With perfectly circular medallions and

II. with medallions round at the bottom but with a rectangular projection towards the top as on certain Chaitya windows on the lintel bearing *Kshāntivādin Jātaka* discovered at Sārnath.

"The first class of medallions are exactly similar to the exquisite medallions of the Chaitya windows discovered by the writer at Bhumara in the Nagod State, and by Rai Bahadur Pandit Daya Ram Sahni at Deogarh in the Jhansi district. The second class can be divided into many varieties. In certain cases the upper projection is connected with the lower end but in certain other cases it is divided into two parts as at Sārnath by a sunken panel. It is only by the grossness of the figures in the medallions and absurdly low relief of the Chaitya windows that we can be sure of the fact that this class of carvings is much later than the Gupta Period proper. This is the last use of the pure Gupta form of the Chaitya window in Orissa."[1]

Prof. Banerji thus amends unawares a mistake which he inadvertently committed in dating the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara by an insufficient examination of the inscriptions there. If the Chaitya windows on the Paraśurāmeśvara are of "the pure early Gupta style", the date of the temple should not be taken to have been far removed from the Gupta Age. The first class of the medallions, as he says, are exactly similar to those of the Chaitya windows on the Śaiva temple at Bhumara, which has been placed in the beginning of the sixth century by the same scholar.[2] "The absurdly low relief" of these motifs and "the grossness of the figures" in the medallions enclosed by them, which he recognizes as but a variety of the second class, should not be taken to be a sure proof of the lateness of the temple. It may be

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 343-4.
[2] *Memoirs of Archeological Survey of India*, No. 16, p. 2.

emphasized that "low relief" is a characteristic of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple carving and is common to the motif of both the categories including what he describes as "pure Gupta". It is, hence, no sure indication of the age of the temple. The divided Chaitya window form, a characteristic variety of his second class, is already well known by the 6th century and what he described as "grossness of the figures" may be explained as productions apparently by an indifferent artist. The evidence of the palaeography of the inscriptions on the planet slab also corroborates stylistic indications of sculptures and the decorative motifs and a date in the seventh century seems to be established beyond doubt.

The stylized Chaitya window, as Prof. Banerji observes, occurs on the temples of Mukteśvara and Liṅgarāja and are found in their latest forms on the temple of Rājarāṇī. They thus become a guiding factor in determining the chronological order of the temples. But the evidence furnished by them should be treated with caution, or else by taking them as the sole evidence for chronology, one may be led to strange conclusions. Prof. Banerji observes that the Chaitya windows of pure Gupta style occurs on the *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the same motif on the *Śikhara* of the same temple shows the beginning of stylization.[1] Can it therefore be held that the *Śikhara* is later than the *Jagamohana?* Such a conclusion would mean putting the cart before the horse, for, none could have built the porch in the absence of the main shrine.

(b) *Lotus Medallions and Foliated Vase Capitals.* (Figs. 33-35, 51-52)

These motifs are the distinguishing peculiarities of only the earlier temples. They never occur on any temple later than the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group. The foliated vases that form the capitals of the pilasters are found in a comparative realistic form in the Paraśurāmeśvara, but in the Vaitāl-Siśireśvara group, they have become stylized so much so that they have become merely the semblances of their earlier models. In the Paraśurāmeśvara the lotus medallions consist of the lotus petals shown in full view with corollas at the centres. In the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group both the petals and the seed-containers have been realistically represented. These two motifs help us not only to distinguish one early group of temples from the other, but also by their total absence, they divide all the later temples from the earlier groups.

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 402-3 and pp. 343-4.

(c) *Nāgas and Nāga Columns*

The Nāgas are rare in the earlier temples. In the Paraśurāmeśvara they are conspicuous by their absence. In the Śiśireśvara, as we have already seen, they occur on the door jambs and hold foliated vases with both hands (Fig. 24). We have also spoken of the two Nāgas to be found in the two small temples standing in the Mukteśvara compound and of two others now kept in the *Jagamohana* of the Vaitāl (Fig. 8). The peculiarity to be noted about all of them is that they have all been represented as human figures with canopies of serpent hoods over their heads, not as half-serpents and half-human beings. They also hold foliated vases with both the hands. In their later representations which are to be noticed for the first time in the Mukteśvara, they appear as half-serpents and half-human beings with canopies of serpent hoods over their heads and with such objects as garlands, vases, conch-shells and fly-whisks held in one hand or in both. The long tails of their lower bodies which are serpentine, are found twisted round the lower parts of the columns. Again, they are always represented in pairs, i.e., with their female counterparts. No Nāgī figure can, however, be traced in any of the earlier temples. Since their first representation in the Mukteśvara temple, the Nāgas and Nāgīs continued to appear in all the important later temples, with the same attributes and with the same details of representation. For a general classification of the temples at Bhubaneswar, the Nāgas, like the vase capitals and lotus medallions, serve as a definite guiding factor.

(d) *Other Semi-divine Figures*

Besides the Nāgas and Nāgīs, other semi-divine beings also occur on the temples. Among them, the flying Vidyādharas holding garlands in their hands that occur on the top corners of the slabs containing the images of important deities or in horizontal rows on the lintels of the side niches, are found in all temples from the earliest to the latest and show no perceptible change. The corpulent Yakṣas with big *kuṇḍalas*, necklaces, moustaches and protruding bellies are, found in the earlier temples carrying fruits as offerings to the gods. In the Mukteśvara and the succeeding temples, they have been represented as raising the structures with uplifted hands and bent knees. The bearded Siddha is rare in the existing temples. Only on a detached lintel that originally belonged to the Bharateśvara temple and which is now preserved in the Orissa Provincial Museum, the bearded

Siddha appears as descending from heaven and carrying on the back his wife who touches his beard through curiosity. This figure appears along with the Vidyādharas and ascetics who are rushing to pay homage to Gaṇeśa. The Suparṇṇa with a human body, head and hands, but with a lower part of a bird, appears for the first time in the Mukteśvara in a panel in the eastern side; several of his representations are also to be found in the *Vimāna* of the Rājarāṇī at a height where scrolls begin to ascend towards the *Śikhara*. In the majority of his representations, he is found with fan-shaped hair and a *vīṇā* or a pair of cymbals held in both hands (Fig. 74).

(e) *Secular Human Figures and Secular Stories*

The secular figures are, as a rule, rarely represented in the temple structures, but an exception has been made in the case of the royal personages, builders of the temples, ascetics and worshippers who have been allowed to appear alongside the gods and goddesses. In the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara on the western facade of the *Jagamohana*, there is a scene of liṅga-worship, where the ascetics with matted hair and with only loin-cloths on are found to have been engaged in the worship of a phallic emblem. There is no scene or person to be found here, that can be interpreted as representing a royal procession or a royal personage. In the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group even the scenes of liṅga-worship are not to be found. In the Mukteśvara the scenes of liṅga-worship, persons carrying offerings to gods, and the ascetic teachers and their disciples appear on the sunken panel that demarcates the *Vāḍa* from the *Śikhara*. Secular stories also for the first time make their appearance in this particular temple. The well-known story of the monkey and the crocodile which is described in the *Pañchatantra* appears on the square frames which contain the perforated windows both in the north and the south of the *Jagamohana*, but since there is also a crab represented along with the monkey and the crocodile, the story as current at the time the temple was built, seems to have been different from the one that has come down to us (Fig. 73). The details of the carvings representing the story have been described at some length by Mr M. M. Ganguly and quoted by Prof. R. D. Banerji[1] and they need not be repeated here. Another story of the *Pañchatantra* that appears in a miniature form on the eastern facade of the *Vimāna*, has not yet been noticed; it is the story of the tortoise that was being carried in the sky by two

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 352.

swans. A royal figure holding a sword and having female attendants by his side has been represented in one of the square niches in the outer face of the low compound wall. Since the figure does not represent any deity, there can be no doubt about its secularity but it will always remain in doubt whether it represents the builder of the temple or any other person.

As in other architectural and sculptural peculiarities, the Mukteśvara first set the example of introducing purely secular figures into the carvings and it was followed in all the notable temples. The southern facade of the *Jagamohana* in the Brahmeśvara temple contains in a panel a female figure, standing in the centre in the midst of the musicians and raising a temple structure (a *Piḍhā* temple) with the left hand, that can, with a fair measure of certainty, be identified with the builder of the temple, who, as we know from the commemorative inscription originally attached to it, was Kolāvatī, mother of king Uddyota-keśarī of the Somavaṁśī dynasty.[1] The only incongruity in the representation is that she has been depicted as a youthful figure, while she must have been an old woman at the time the temple was built in the eighteenth year of her son's reign (Fig. 81).

But it seems most probable that the attempt of the sculptor was not to carve the real portrait of the builder, but only to represent her by a conventional female figure. In fact, in ancient art it had become a convention to depict all females, secular or divine, as youthful figures, except Chamuṇḍā and allied deities which have been represented as old women. On the southern side of the *Jagamohana*, there is also a panel which most probably depicts a king and his courtiers. The same royal figure appears as a warrior on the southern side of the *Vimāna* with a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left, and with two parasols, made of peacock's feathers, held over the head, that indicate his royalty (Fig. 85). A royal figure also occurs on the southern facade of the main temple of Liṅgarāja and there we find him holding a sword in the right hand, of which only the hilt has survived, and engaged in reading a copper-plate inscription held in the left. An officer stands in front of him, perhaps awaiting orders from him, while two attendants hold over his head two parasols, made of peacock's feathers, which likewise indicate his royalty (Fig. 84). Making an allowance for the different garments worn by them on different occasions and also wear and tear from

[1] *J.A.R.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 70.

which they have suffered, one can easily perceive a great deal of similarity in all the three figures, two on the Brahmeśvara and one on the Liṅgarāja. We may take them to be the representation of a royal personage. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether they represent real portraits, though a striking similarity between them may lead to such a conclusion. An elaborate scene of a *darbar* held by a king also appears on the southern facade of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja, which the priests of the temple identify as the Indra *sabhā* or the court of Indra. That there was an attempt at portraiture of the builders of the temples, is also evident from the sculptures of the great Koṇārka temple, in which the portrait of a king who, in the context of the history known to us, should be taken as Narasiṁha I, appears in several panels. It appears in the base of the empty *ratna-vedi* of the main temple, where it is seen as worshipping and receiving a garland or a piece of cloth from the high priest; in a panel where it is being swung in a *dolā* (swing) and in another by the side of Durgā, Jagannātha and a phallic emblem. In all these panels and in several others, that the portraits represent one and the same king, is evident from their striking similarity and unmistakable features, though a sure conclusion rests on the question whether these portraits were real or idealised.

The high officers of the kings who happened to have built temples, had also the privilege of appearing on the temples. We have already referred, in Chapter III, to a panel in the Pāpanāśinī porch, which contains an elephant procession with an inscription recording the name of *raṇa-śūra-Mahāsenā-pati* along with the name of king Kapileśvaradeva. The rider of the foremost elephant, over whose head two parasols have been held up, may be identified with the *mahāsenāpati*, apparently the builder of the temple, whose name is unfortunately missing from the inscription (Fig. 82). A similar elephant procession with a similar foremost rider appears on the southern facade of the *Jagamohana* of the Śāri-deul; but since we know nothing of its builder, it is difficult to identify the rider.

Several panels are to be found in the Brahmeśvara, the Liṅgarāja and some later notable temples, in which male and female ascetics appear seated against the pillows and preaching to the disciples or followers, both male and female, who stand in front of them with folded hands. These panels may represent religious instruction by contemporary saints and teachers, but it is difficult to identify them in absence of any other evidence.

In the temple of Mukteśvara there is a decorative device of enigmatic and amusing character that appears in two of the square niches in the outer face of the low compound wall. The device consists of four human figures so arranged as to have only two common heads (Fig. 76). Another decorative device of such amusing character may be seen in four human figures with only one common head appearing on the southern facade of the sanctuary. These devices do not occur in any other temple earlier or later than the Mukteśvara.

(f) *Animal Figures*

Animal figures play a large part among the decorative devices of the Bhubaneswar temples. Among them lions and elephants are most common and variations indicating a sequence may be noticed in their representations in the different groups of temples. In the earlier temples they appear as single figures in horizontal or vertical rows or in the well-known combined forms of *Gaja-siṁhas*. Sometimes only the heads of lions are found in the medallions enclosed within the Chaitya arches. Some characteristics are peculiar to the early representations of these animals. The lions are merely conventional figures, but the elephants have been copied from nature. Nowhere perhaps have these animals been so naturally depicted as they have been in the temples of Orissa. Whether they are found in rows or herds or in combat with their fellow creatures or with lions or while being captured and trained, the sense of realism and perspective exhibited by the sculptors in depicting them has been remarkable. In the lions the manes have been schematically represented, and their tails have invariably been shown upraised to reach the heads in the foreparts. In the scenes of the elephant-capture that appear in the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Svarṇṇajāleśvara, both the animals as well as the incidents of their capture have been most realistically depicted. In the so-called lion-hunt on the northern facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara, which has been described at length by Mr M. M. Ganguly,[1] the animal hunted is not a lion in reality, since it is found without a mane and with a distinct pair of horns. The scene represents the hunt of a fabulous animal (Fig. 45).

The animal motifs have undergone significant changes in the temple of Mukteśvara. The *Gaja-siṁha* mounted on columns, the pouncing lion (*vyālīs*) with rider and the griffin with elephant-head and lion-body representing *Gaja-siṁha* combined into a single form,

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 305.

are to be found in *alto-relievo* for the first time here. All animal figures including the lion have been most realistically carved. Carefully executed very small figures of monkeys, crocodiles, elephants, lions, lions mounted on elephants, lions charging elephants from the front or the rear, bull running amuck, deer with or without horns, boar charging a man and tortoise being carried away in the sky by swans, all bear the evident marks of a realistic art. The famous hunting scene that appears on the southern facade is unique both in conception and execution. The *makaras* with ornamented tails appear as swallowing fishes or human beings.

The animal motifs on the Mukteśvara were copied, with more or less success, in all the notable later temples. The *Gaja-siṁha* columns, the pouncing lions with riders and the griffins with elephant-heads and lion-bodies continued to be the noteworthy features in the decorative designs of most of them. In the cornices of the *Jagamohanas* of the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja, the friezes of birds and animals including horses, bear the most attractive features. In the Rājarāṇī minute figures of lions charging elephants from the front or the rear, have been depicted with great success. The Mukteśvara and the Rājarāṇī introduce a new motif which does not appear in any early temple. It exhibits a swan carrying away a string of pearls in its bill (*Muktā-lobhī-rāja-haṁsa*) (Fig. 75). The motif is found in the Mukteśvara in the ceiling of the *Jagamohana* and in the Rājarāṇī in the lower ends of the scrolls that mount up the body of the temple. This motif within a medallion or a half-medallion may also be recognized in several other later temples. In the Liṅgarāja, the figures such as swans, boars, deer and elephants are for the first time found enclosed within the medallions or half-medallions that form part of the creepers or meanders. These decorative devices were followed in most of the temples built in the Gaṅga Period (Figs. 79-80).

(g) *Kīrtti-mukhas*

The *Kīrtti-mukha* represents the grotesque head of a lion with pearls dropping down from the mouth. It is a symbolical representation of the builder's or donor's fame which is figuratively taken to be as white as pearls. The device occurs in the Paraśurāmeśvara group in the medallions enclosed within Chaitya arches, but in the Vaitāl group it appears between a pair of pouncing lions which also drop down strings of pearls from their mouths and have riders on their backs

and human figures underneath their feet (Figs. 51-52). The riders and the human figures are not, however, invariably found in association with the motif. In the Mukteśvara, the *kīrtti-mukha* appears on each facade of the *śikhara* in the shape of a projecting lion's head, that drops down strings of pearls from the mouth and forms part of an elaborate decorative design. This design consists of two human figures which flank the *kīrtti-mukha*. They have in their hands a chain that intersects the chain with a bell hanging down from the mouth of the *kīrtti-mukha*. In between there is a Chaitya medallion outlined by a string of beads issuing from the mouth of the *kīrtti-mukha* and enclosing groups of figures. At the bottom there appear a lotus with a miniature *kīrtti-mukha* and the head of a human figure enclosed within a smaller medallion. The figures have beards, moustaches, upraised hair on the head twisted into ringlets and snake hoods on their foreheads. The last-named characteristic which is missing in some figures, but is clearly preserved in those of the southern facade, discloses their Śaivite character (Fig. 57).

The type of *kīrtti-mukha* that occurs on the Paraśurāmeśvara group, can be traced back to a still earlier period of which temples are no longer in existence, though with sculptural specimens extant. It has sometimes been carved merely as a lion's head with no pearl strings. The second type is characteristic of the sculptures of the temples at Bhubaneswar with Bhauma associations and, as we have already seen in Chapter III, it also appears in the Bhauma architecture that flourished in the Puṣpagiri Vihāra (Fig. 13). The Mukteśvara type of *kīrtti-mukha* along with the elaborate design continued to appear in all important temples up to the end of the temple-building period, but the Śaivite character of the human figures that appear in the decorative design associated with it, was forgotten and it was merely copied in a variety of forms and was allowed to appear even in a Vaiṣṇava temple like the Ananta-Vāsudeva.

(h) *Haloes and Miscellaneous Motifs*

We have already seen that haloes invariably occur in the cult images of the first two groups of temples represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaitāl, and that they have been omitted in the same images of the Mukteśvara and the temples that followed it. This appears to be the general rule and only two exceptions may be noticed among the hundreds of temple images. In the palnet slab of the ruined Śatrughneśvara, the haloes have been omitted, but since

no other cult image of this monument has survived, it is difficult to determine whether the omission was accidental or deliberate. In the Sūrya images of the Paraśurāmeśvara, the haloes have also been omitted, probably on account of the fact that the sun-god is a radiant being and as such it required no *prabhāmaṇḍala*. In the late medieval sculptures, tri-foliate or penta-foliate designs took the place of haloes and the transformation is first to be noticed in the bigger cult images of the Liṅgarāja. Usually the penta-foliate design is a later development and its origin is to be traced to the Gaṅga Period.

Innumerable scrolls and arabesques may be brought under a miscellaneous head. Since each school of art or each political period developed certain peculiar types of these motifs they certainly show a chronological sequence, but it is difficult to trace this sequence without proper illustrations. They rather form a subject by themselves. The *Śikhara* of the Mukteśvara contains a type of scroll, of which no replica is to be found in any other Orissan temples except in the three Buddhist-Tāntrik temples at Baudh.[1]



[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 353-6 and the Plate between pp. 192-3.

VIII

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CULT IMAGES: DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

THE numerous temples of Bhubaneswar belonging to the different periods, provide us with a large number of the images of one and the same deity which facilitate a comparative study regarding the form and attributes of each. Such a study reveals the existence of distinct types or forms in the image of a particular divinity and a comparative analysis of such types and forms coupled with other evidences, architectural as well as sculptural, appears to furnish definite pointers to the chronological epochs in which they were produced. The study of the types along the chronological line, necessarily also facilitates a study of the evolution in the iconography of these images and of the culture traits of the ages to which each type belonged. In such a study we have to distinguish between the essential and the non-essential elements that make up the iconography of the image of a particular deity and the presence or otherwise of an essential feature or a variation in the essential elements constitutes a kind of unassailable evidence regarding the chronological and cultural epoch of each particular type. Gaṇeśa is a frequently represented deity in Bhubaneswar art. It is significant to note that in a particular group of Gaṇeśa images, the mouse, the characteristic mount of the deity and one of the most essential traits in his iconography, is absent, whereas it appears invariably in another group. The omission of the mouse from the representation of Gaṇeśa constitutes a material variation which divides the images of this deity into two sharply separated groups, and the natural presumption is that these two groups were also separated chronologically as well as culturally. That these two groups are well marked is also supported by the fact that in images where the mouse is absent the god invariably holds a radish in one of his hands whereas images in which the mouse is

present the radish is replaced by the broken tusk. Similarly, we can divide the images of Kārttikeya and Pārvatī, two other *pārśva-devatās* of a Śaiva temple, into well-marked groups, the first by the presence or otherwise of the cock, an essential attribute of the god, the second by the presence of the *ketaka* flower in one particular group and by the *padma* which replaces the *ketaka* in the other. The planet slabs also fall into two groups by the presence or otherwise of Ketu, the ninth planet. The images of Mahiṣamardinī, by reason of the shape of the demon, may also be divided into two groups. In one the demon is of human shape with the head of a buffalo and in the other we have the figure of a buffalo from which emerges the demon in human shape. Apart from the broad divisions in the images of the above deities which are most frequently represented in the Bhubaneswar temples, such divisions are also recognizable in the representations of other deities, and within each broad class, a detailed analysis reveals also the existence of sub-classes based on variations in minor points.

A typological study of the images conducted on the principles indicated above furnish us with some valuable data which can be utilized in determining the chronological positions of the images with reference to the temples of known dates, of the temples of unknown dates in which they occur and also of the detached sculptures that once belonged to the monuments no longer in existence now. While examining the dates gained from the study of cult images, the dated temples with their sculptures must have to be taken as the datum lines or the known points from which we shall have to proceed or recede to determine the age of the temples and sculptures of unknown date.

The results of the typological studies given below are valid with regard to the images of the Bhubaneswar temples in particular and of Orissa in general, but their validity may extend even to the images of East India.

Since the images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī are invariably found as *pārśva-devatās* in the Śaiva temples which are in overwhelming majority at Bhubaneswar, our typological studies should begin with them.

1. Gaṇeśa (Figs. 104-108)

As already observed, the numerous images of Gaṇeśa fall into two types because of the presence or otherwise of the mouse, the characteristic mount of the god.

Type 1 without mouse. Seated, rarely standing, holding in the four hands a radish, a *japāmāla*, an upraised *kuṭhāra* and a cup of sweets. Snakes are used as the belt and the sacred thread. The head usually does not show any *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The pedestal is either plain or occupied by a dish of flowers or fruits placed on a tripod sometimes flanked by two lions facing opposite to each other (Figs. 105-107). A characteristic distinctive feature is the absence of the mouse and among nearly a hundred examples of such type only three exceptions are to be noticed in this respect.

Two variants may be recognized according as the proboscis is turned to left or right The second variety or sub-type is distinguished further by a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on the head, and the pedestal shows one or two jack-fruits (Fig. 107).[1]

Type 2 with mouse. Standing, holding in the upper right hand a broken tusk, in the lower right a *japāmāla*, in the upper left a cup of sweets in which the proboscis is placed and in the lower left a *kuṭhāra* placed upside down. A snake is used as a sacred thread. The head wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The pedestal consists of a full-blown lotus. The mouse appears on one side of the deity or on the pedestal below the feet of the god (Fig. 108).

The first type occurs on the dated temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara besides on several other early temples such as the Bharateśvara, the Svarṇṇajāleśvara, the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, the Mohinī and the Vahiraṅgeśvara. Because of its association with the early dated temples as integral parts of the structures themselves, the type should be recognized as the early iconographic form of the images of Gaṇeśa at Bhubaneswar. The images of this type, as already observed in Chapter II, are also found in the temples of Uttareśvara, Liṅgarāja and Yameśvara. Detached sculptures of this type are also found in the Chintāmaṇīśvara and in the Bhāratī Maṭha. On account of the association of the type with the early temples, such specimens may be regarded as later fixations in their present sites. Probably they belonged to such early temples as do not exist now. This should also be the case with regard to the detached sculptures.

The first variant of this type distinguished by the proboscis turned to left occurs as a *pārśva-devatā* in the original southern niche in the dated temple of Paraśurāmeśvara; as detached sculpture in the temples of Chintāmaṇīśvara and Rāmeśvara and in the Bhāratī

[1] The pedestal of the image of Gaṇeśa enshrined in the southern niche of the Śiśireśvara, which has been illustrated here (Fig. 107), has been left uncarved.

Maṭha; and as a later fixation in the temple of Yameśvara. A significant fact to be noted in connexion with the specimens to be found in the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Chintāmaṇīśvara and in the Bhāratī Maṭha, is that their pedestals are occupied by the flanking lions facing opposite to each other and by the same types of tripods containing the same types of flowers or fruits with a round object in the centre, trifoliated at the top (Fig. 106).

The second variant of the first type distinguished by the proboscis turned to right occurs on the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara and on the inner wall of the Gaṇeśa Gumphā at Udayagiri. The Gaṇeśa Gumphā image has been referred to as *gajāsya* in an inscription engraved nearby, which also records the name of the Bhauma king Śāntikaradeva.[1] The inscription supplies us with chronological data regarding the date of this variant, from which, according to the chronology adopted by us in this work, should be the eighth century A.D. The Gaṇeśa Gumphā image is interesting again, for the presence of the mouse which is shown as stealing sweets placed on the pedestal. In this connexion we may refer to the two images of this variety at Bhubaneswar, one within the Liṅgarāja compound (Fig. 138) and the other one fixed to a miniature laterite temple near the Doodwalla Dharmaśālā and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum (Fig. 104). In the former the mouse is shown as stealing sweets held by a female figure seated to the right of the god and in the latter the mouse is simply placed to the right of the god, a jack fruit being shown to the left in the corresponding position. Though the presence of the mouse suggests an association with the second type, the other characteristics all indicate an affiliation of these images to the first and their chronological position places these images midway between the first and the second type.

The second type with the mouse as the distinctive feature first occurs in the temple of Mukteśvara. It also occurs in the dated temples of Brahmeśvara, Kedāreśvara and Megheśvara and in all other Śaiva temples of the later group such as the Liṅgarāja, the Siddheśvara, the Rāmeśvara, the Bhāskareśvara, the Yameśvara, the Chitreśvara, the Iśāneśvara etc.

2. Kārttikeya (Figs. 94-103)

As in images of Gaṇeśa, those of Kārttikeya may also be divided into two broad classes because of the presence or otherwise of the cock,

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 167.

the characteristic attribute of the god. Those without the cock may be designated as Type I which may be described as follows:

Type I without cock. The god is either seated or standing and is shown with two hands, one holding a *vīja-pūraka* and the other a *śakti*. In the standing examples the peacock, the mount of the god, is shown on the pedestal, while in the seated ones the god is shown either as riding the mount, or as seated on a low-footed stool with the mount shown below. Variants of the type may be recognized. In one specimen originally fixed to a later miniature temple, the *śakti*, instead of being held in the hand, is shown as supported on the pedestal (Fig. 95), while in another now in a miniature temple in the Yameśvara compound, it is absent altogether (Fig. 98). In this example, a standing representation of the god, the right hand shows the *vīja-pūraka*, while the left rests on hip in what is known as the *Kaṭyavalambita* pose. An elaborate example belonging to this type may now be seen fixed to a later miniature temple in the compound of the Liṅgarāja (Fig. 96). The god sits astride the peacock, shown to front and with its outspread tail at the back of the god. The right hand, apparently with a *vīja-pūraka*, is broken off, and the left holds the *śakti*. An interesting feature is supplied by the standing figures of two attendant divinities on either side of the god, of which that to the right may be recognized as Brahmā on account of multiple heads bearing *jaṭā-mukuṭas* and a vase held between the hands. One half of the figure to the left is missing, but the divinity is indicated by the presence of the halo around the head. The pedestal is divided into three compartments, the central being occupied by the figure of *mandira-chāriṇī* and the two side ones with figures, each shown with one hand upwards appearing to support the pedestal. The central figure of the god bears a striking resemblance to a similar image of Kārttikeya carved within a medallion belonging to the Śaiva temple at Bhumarā.[1]

An image of Kārttikeya now occupying the western niche in the Uttareśvara temple, is unique in having no figure of the peacock associated with the representation of the god. The god stands in slight *tribhaṅga* with the right hand resting on the hip and the left holding a *śakti*. A female figure stands to proper left in a graceful attitude looking up at the face of the god (Fig. 94). The absence of the mount, the distinct cognisance of the god, from rather early times, is interesting and the iconographic and stylistic implications of the image will be discussed later on.

[1] *Mem. Archl. S. I.*, No. 16, p. 12, Plate XIII (b).

Type 2. This class of Kārttikeya images is distinguished by the presence of the figure of the cock as one of the attributes of the god. He is usually shown four-armed and in a standing pose, though two-armed seated representations, resembling the first type except for the figure of the cock, are also found. The two-armed specimens appear on the Mukteśvara temple (Fig. 99) and may be regarded as the earliest representations of the god with the cock. Besides, the absence of *śakti*, an invariable attribute of the god in the former class, connects these specimens undoubtedly with the second class. In the four-handed specimens, the *vīja-pūraka* and the *śakti* are both conspicuous by their absence. The hand which usually held the *vīja-pūraka* in the former class is shown in *varada* pose with the corresponding hand placed on a cock held up by a female figure standing to left. Two additional hands in the specimens of this second class show attributes such as *gadā* or *triśūla* and *ḍambaru* (Figs. 100-101). A significant variety may be recognized in an image of Kārttikeya on the *Nāṭamandira* of the Liṅgarāja which shows a sword, the *ḍambaru* and the *triśūla* in the three hands and an indistinct object, perhaps a crude and conventional figure of the cock, in the fourth (Fig. 102).

The first type of images occurs on the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Śiśireśvara among the temples of which the dates are known. They form original parts of the structures themselves and because of the association of this type with earlier temples it may be recognized to be the early iconographic form of the images of Kārttikeya at Bhubaneswar. The images of this type, as already observed, also occur on a miniature later temple in the Liṅgarāja compound and inside a similar temple in the Yameśvara compound (Figs. 96, 98). One specimen of this type was stuck to a later miniature temple standing behind the Doodwalla Dharmaśālā, but it was removed to the Orissa State Museum by the present writer (Fig. 95). On account of the association of the type with the early temples, these specimens may be regarded as later fixations in their present sites.

The image of Kārttikeya on the Uttareśvara temple is interesting not only because of the absence of the cock, but also of the peacock (Fig. 94). That sculptures now found in the Uttareśvara temple represent later fixations, has already been discussed in Chapter II. The style of all these sculptures is marked by massive forms, broad chests and flat treatment of the faces, a style that is reminiscent of, and not far removed from, that of the groups of donors in the rock-cut caves

of Kahneri and Karli.[1] The inference that the Uttareśvara sculptures might also belong to an early tradition may not be altogether improbable. The evidence of the Yaudheya coins may also be instructive so far as the iconography of the image of Kārttikeya is concerned. On several classes of Yaudheya coins there occur the figures of Kārttikeya, but only one such class bears the peacock, while in others the peacock is conspicuous by its absence. The class with the peacock is usually placed in the third to fourth century A.D.,[2] while others have been placed to an earlier date.[3] The natural presumption hence is that in the evolution of the iconography of Kārttikeya there was a period when the peacock was not regarded as an essential feature, and the Uttareśvara specimen might have very probably belonged to that age. The peacock as an essential element in the iconography of Kārttikeya appears from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

The class of two-armed Kārttikeya images at Bhubaneswar with the peacock as the mount and *śakti*, and *vīja-pūraka* as characteristic attributes and distinguished by the absence of the cock, is related to similar other figures from various parts of India, which, on good grounds, may be placed to an age from the fourth to the fifth century onwards. The association of this class in the early temples like the Bharateśvara, the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Śiśireśvara etc. is also significant, and a distribution of this class indicates the prevalence of this iconographic type from the late Gupta period to about the ninth century A.D. The affinity of the elaborate image of Kārttikeya, belonging to this class, in a miniature temple in the Liṅgarāja compound, with a Bhumarā example has already been noticed.

Of the extant temples, the Mukteśvara is the first example in which the image of Kārttikeya is shown with a cock. In this two-handed form and in the pose it has some resemblance to the images of the earlier group. But the presence of the cock and the absence of the *śakti* represent distinct typological variations and such features may be said to have initiated a new movement which culminated in the emergence of a new iconographic form of Kārttikeya represented by the second class. From the evidence of the Mukteśvara temple, the new movement may be said to have begun from the 10th century A.D., a fact corroborated by the distribution of the images of this class.

[1] Karl Khandalavala, *Indian Sculpture & Painting*, p. 21, pl. X.
[2] J. N. Banerji, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 158.
[3] Ibid. p. 155.

This class characterized by four hands became gradually stereotyped, and, with minor variants, may be found in all the temples of the later group.

3. Pārvatī (Figs. 109-111)

The division of the images of Pārvatī into two broad groups is based on the presence either of the *ketaka* flower or of the *padma* in one of the four hands of the goddess. Invariably she appears as one of the *pārśva-devatās* on a Śaiva temple and in such association she is shown as a standing figure with four hands.

Type 1 with the *ketaka* flower. Upper right hand a *japāmāla*, lower right in *varada* with a lotus mark on palm, upper left a *ketaka* flower and lower left a vase. The lion-mount appears on the pedestal. (In the illustration given it is missing). On two sides are shown two female figures carrying offerings, sometimes in baskets held on the heads. A variant may be recognized in an image originally in the Paśchimeśvara temple in which the goddess is flanked on either side by a lion and a deer. In the decoration of the temple walls the type occurs in a seated position, but other characteristics remain the same (Figs. 109-110).

Type 2 with the *padma*. Upper right hand a snake twisted into a noose, lower right in *varada* with a lotus mark on palm, upper left a club and lower left a lotus with stem which rising from the left side of the deity passes through her left arms (Fig. 111).

The images of the first type occur in the decoration of the walls of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaitāl, and in the northern niches of the Svarṇṇajāleśvara and the Mārkaṇḍeśvara. Images of this type are found as detached sculptures in the Bhāratī Maṭha, in the site of the Paśchimeśvara temple and in the compound of the Kapileśvara. The second type occurs in one of the central niches of the Kedāreśvara and most likely occurred in the similar positions of the Brahmeśvara and the Megheśvara, now found empty. This type is also found in the wall decoration of the Rājarāṇī, and in the central niches of the Liṅgarāja, the Siddheśvara, the Rāmeśvara, Bhāskareśvara, Yameśvara, Iśāneśvara, Chitreśvara and of several other Śaiva temples with the *pārśva-devatās* still attached to them. The association of the two types with the two groups of temples, early and late, is thus clear and explicit and chronologically the first type preceded the second.

4. Planet Slabs

The planet slabs, usually occurring as lintels to the doorways, fall into two broad groups by the absence or the occurrence of the figure of Ketu, the ninth planet.

Type 1 without Ketu. Except Rāhu, all the planets are shown as youthful figures and except Rāhu and Ravi all are shown as holding *japāmālas* in their right hands and vases in the left. Soma has the representation of a crescent behind the head. Ravi holds lotuses in both the hands. Rāhu is shown as a terrific half-bust figure, extending open palms in front.

Type 2 with Ketu. Except Ravi, Rāhu and Ketu, the remaining six planets sit in *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, holding vases in their left hands. Ravi holds lotuses in both the hands, Rāhu appears as a half-bust figure with the hands open in front, and Ketu has a serpentine lower part.

Among the numerous planet slabs of the second group it is only natural that minor variations may be recognized. For example, the figure of Ketu, besides its serpentine lower part, sometimes shows a three-hooded snake as canopy over the head. Sometimes, the hands are shown upraised, or with sword or with sword and shield. Rāhu has sometimes the representation of the moon on the open palm. Bṛihaspati is usually shown as bearded, and in some both Bṛihaspati and Śukra are bearded.

The first type of the planet slabs occurs on the inscribed lintel of the dated temple of Śatrughneśvara, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, and on the doorway of the sanctuary of the Paraśurāmeśvara. The slabs of the first type still exist also in the temples of Svarṇṇajāleśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Tāleśvara. The second type of planet slabs occurs in the Mukteśvara and in the dated temples of Brahmeśvara, Kedāreśvara, Megheśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva and in all other later groups of temples with their doorways still extant. Ketu with a three-hooded snake as a canopy over the head appears only in the Mukteśvara. Rāhu with a representation of the moon on the open palms and Ketu with sword or sword and shield in the hands occur in the Yameśvara, Śāri Deul, Chitreśvara and in several others. Bṛihaspati is first shown as bearded in the Brahmeśvara and Śukra along with Bṛihaspati is found bearded in the planet slabs of the Yameśvara and the Śāri Deul. In the planet slabs also chronological order of the two types is apparent, the first being characteristic of the early temples and the second of the later temples beginning from the 10th century A.D.

5. Mahiṣamardinī (Figs. 112-113)

Though not always a *pārśva-devatā* in association with a Śaiva temple, the images of Mahiṣamardinī are rather prolific in their occurrence at Bhubaneswar. Mostly they represent isolated sculptures either found loose or fixed to the walls of the temples. In the Vaitāl and the Siśireśvara the goddess appears as enshrined in original niches on the temple walls. A classification of these images into two broad groups is possible on the shape and form of the buffalo-demon. In one group the demon is shown as a human figure with the head of a buffalo, whereas in the other he is shown as a human figure issuing out of the decapitated body of the buffalo. Irrespective of these divisions, the goddess is shown everywhere with eight hands engaged in fighting the demon.

Type 1. This type furnishes us with some of the most remarkable of the Bhubaneswar images. The goddess is shown as pressing down the head of the demon (a buffalo-headed human figure) with her main left hand and thrusts a trident through his body with the main right. The additional hands hold the different weapons of war, such as the sword and the shield, the bow and the arrow, the thunderbolt and the snake, the latter biting at the demon. The lion, the mount of the goddess, also joins the fight and grasps a hand of the demon within the jaws. (Fig. 112).

Type 2. The images of Mahiṣamardinī of this type are rare in occurrence as original features of temple decoration. Here the demon is shown as issuing out of the decapitated body of the buffalo, and the goddess with the eight hands fights him. Apart from the variation in the representation of the demon, there is very little difference with the former type, either in attributes of the goddess or in her pose (Fig. 113).

Two remarkable images of the first type, as already noted, are enshrined in the original niches in the Vaitāl and the Siśireśvara temples. Besides, one specimen of the type appears in the decoration of the northern facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Images of this type are also found in the two later temples on either side of the Vindusarovara, while two others are seen in the *Jagamohana* of the Śiśireśvara temple and in the Chāranārāyaṇa. On account of the association of this type of images with the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Vaitāl and the Siśireśvara, where such images occur as original features, the type may be placed to about the seventh to eighth century A.D. The other specimens of the type should also belong to the same date and appear to have originally belonged to monuments no longer extant now.

Reference may be made in this connexion to a singular type of Mahiṣamardinī image, a unique example of which is now found in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. Here the demon is theriomorphic i.e. in the shape of a buffalo. The goddess is four-handed. With one hand of the normal pair, she lifts the buffalo by the tail and thrusts the trident through the demon's body with the other. It is noteworthy that the image except for the four hands, resembles the image of Mahiṣamardinī now enshrined as the presiding deity in the temple of Virajā at Jajpur. The four-handed form that we find in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, closely agrees with the representation of the goddess in the Śiva temple at Bhumarā ascribed to the sixth century A.D. on good grounds.[1] The Bhubaneswar image also appears to have belonged to that period and the stylistic considerations also support such an ascription. The Virajā image might have belonged to a still earlier date, a view which was also held by the late Mr. R. Chanda about the date of Virajā.[2]

The second type, very rare in occurrence at Bhubaneswar, is usually associated with the temples of the later group and appears to have been the prevailing form of the image from the 10th century onwards.

6. Lakulīśa (Figs. 124-130)

Images of Lakulīśa are fairly prolific in their appearance on the Bhubaneswar temples and may be classified under two broad groups by the modes of their seated positions. In one group Lakulīśa is shown as seated cross-legged in what is known as *Vaddhāsana* with the legs firmly planted on the seat and in the other the crossed legs are tied round with *Yogapaṭṭa*, the knees being necessarily held aloft. These two modes constitute distinctive traits for a typological division of such images and a study of the distribution of the images in the Bhubaneswar temples supports this division. Lakulīśa is usually shown in *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudrā* with a *lakuṭa* held between one arm. Usually he is shown single, but instances are not rare where he is found in the company of disciples, two, four or six. Lakulīśa also appears occasionally on the lintels in the company of the teachers of the Pāśupata sect. Such representations, however, are very rare, only two instances being known, one on the free-standing doorway

[1] *Mem. Archl. S. I.* No. 16, Plate XIV.
[2] Ibid. No. 44, p. 4.

of the Marichikuṇḍa, near the Mukteśvara, and the other on the doorway of the *Jagamohana* of the Rājarāṇī (Figs. 129-130).

Besides the division of the Lakulīśa images into two broad types, as above, variations may be recognized in each. But the variations are only slight and need not be discussed in detail. The first type of images occurs on the Bharateśvara, the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Vaitāl, the Śiśireśvara, the Mārkaṇḍeśvara and the Mukteśvara. The association of this type with the above temples places it in a period beginning from the earliest epoch of temple-building activity down to about the 10th century A.D. In the Mukteśvara, among the rather large number of Lakulīśa images, there are also a few specimens of the second type, which may be said to have begun to appear as an established iconic type from that period. This type continued to be the prevailing form during the later ages. Another distinctive feature of this second type is supplied by the bearded faces of the figures of the disciples (Figs. 127-130).

An interesting form of Lakulīśa should also be taken note of in this connexion. This is supplied by a unique image of Lakulīśa recovered from the side niche of the ruined temple of Bhairava on the bank of the river Gangua flowing in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar. Lakulīśa is represented here with four hands, perhaps the only instance of a four-handed form of Lakulīśa. The main pair of hands exhibit the *Dharma-chakra-pravarttana-mudrā* with *lakuṭa* in between one arm, while the other pair a manuscript and a citron. There appears the third eye in the forehead and the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is surmounted by a snake with a raised hood. The *membrum virile* is shown erect as in one of the specimens in the Vaitāl temple. In this unique image which represents, perhaps, the latest iconinic form of Lakulīśa at Bhubaneswar, the identity of this Pāśupata teacher with the god Śiva, seems to be clearly established by the third eye on the forehead and the snake surmounting the *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.

7. Sapta-Mātṛikās (Figs. 86-90).

Though not constituting an essential feature of the temple structures themselves as the above images, three groups of Sapta-Mātṛikās are to be found at Bhubaneswar, one on the *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara, another inside the sanctum of the Vaitāl and the third on the ceiling of the Mukteśvara. The iconographic characteristics of each of these groups have been discussed in connexion with the description of the sculptures of the temples in which they occur and here

it is only necessary to show the variations that provide us with some chronological data. In the first two groups no fundamental difference exists either in the attributes of the deities or in the manner of their representations, except in the figure of Chāmuṇḍā which, in the first group, has an owl on the pedestal, but in the second, a *śava* eaten by a jackal. The figure of Chāmuṇḍā in the second group has also a snake over the head, which is not to be found in the figure of the same deity in the first. These two groups may be classed as one type, though on a consideration of clear stylistic differences in the images of the two groups, the first group can easily be distinguished as belonging to a period preceding that of the second. The chronological positions of the two temples, already discussed, also bear out this conclusion.

But real and fundamental changes are to be noticed in the images of the third group occurring on an eight-petalled lotus carved in the ceiling of the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara. In the first two groups Gaṇeśa and Vīreśvara appear in association with the Mātṛikās. The image of Gaṇeśa has been omitted in the Mukteśvara; this omission might have been necessitated by the lack of space in the lotus which contains eight petals for carving eight figures only. That Gaṇeśa retained its position in the group of Mātṛikās is proved by his occurrence among the images of Mātṛikās to be still found in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri.[1] The figures of Mātṛikās in the Mukteśvara group are clearly separated and distinguished from their counterparts in the first two groups (Type I), in the fact that all the Mātṛikās, except Chāmuṇḍā, each hold a baby in the arm. This distinguishing feature enables us to class the group as the second type in the Mātṛikā images. The Mukteśvara Mātṛikās in this respect closely agree with their counterparts discovered at Jajpur and Puri and illustrated by R. Chanda,[2] R. D. Banerji[3] and H. K. Mahatab.[4] Vīreśvara here holds a sword but not a trident as in the first two groups (Type I).

These differences are substantial and sufficient to indicate a change in the iconographic conception of the Mātṛikās. The association of the babies with the figures of Mātṛikās appears to be a later iconographic feature which, as we find here, probably did not come into vogue before the end of the Bhauma epoch. In view of this feature and also

[1] Mahatab, *Odishar Itihāsa*, Plate between pp. 296-7.
[2] *Memo. Arch. S. I.* No. 44, Plates I, VI, VII, IX.
[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II. Pl. between pp. 400-1, 404-5 and 416-17.
[4] Ibid. Plates between pp. 30-1.

on stylistic consideration, the figures of Mātṛikās at Jajpur do not appear to have belonged to the eighth century A.D., as R. Chanda thinks.[1] We shall have occasion later on to show that Mātṛikā worship received a great impetus during the period of the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī kings, and it is probable that this new conception about Mātṛikās holding babies might have been initiated during their epoch. The Somavaṁśī kings are traditionally associated with Puri and Jajpur, and it is probable that the distinctive trait that characterizes the Mātṛikā images of those places, namely, babies held in their arms, might have originated with them.

A typological division of the above sets of images, each into broad types, is clear and explicit and chronologically also the types fall into two well-marked periods. There are images of several divinities of which a few are rather prolific in appearance; such a division, however, is not so clearly marked in these sets, though it is possible to establish an approximate chronological sequence in the different varieties of each set.

8. NAṬARĀJA (Figs. 114-121)

The image of Naṭarāja, of Śiva as the lord of dancers, is a frequently occurring motif in the temple art of Bhubaneswar. It is found from the earliest period of temple-building activity down to the latest and the traditional sculptors of Orissa have kept up the practice of carving Naṭarāja images even up to the present day. By their prolific appearance, artistic excellence and several significant and well-marked varieties, the Naṭarāja images constitute a remarkable series in the art of Bhubaneswar. Our treatment here will consist of a description of the significant varieties and their chronological associations by an analytical study of their distribution.

1. Reference has already been made in Chapter II to an elaborate image of Naṭarāja which probably served as a grill in the facade of the *Jagamohana* of a temple no longer *in situ*. As already observed, its original provenance was most likely the site which is occupied by the present temple of Siddheśvara and where an earlier temple once existed. At present it is housed in a small shrine situated inside the Mukteśvara compound. The god has ten hands of which the two uppermost hold over the head a snake with its hood turned towards the deity. Two other hands representing the normal pair, are shown

[1] *Memo. Arch. S. I.*, No. 44, p. 14.

in the cadence of the dance, the right swinging horizontally across the body and the left held up in *kaṭaka* pose. Another pair hold the fluttering scarf on two sides, indicative also of the rhythm of the dance. The objects in the other hands are a trident and a *japāmāla* in the right and a long *vīṇā* (lute) and, probably, a lotus bud in the left. The deity wears perhaps an elephant-skin, a sacred thread, a belt round the belly, and a waist chain which, ending with a lotus flower, falls down to touch the right foot slightly raised in the cadence of the dance. Gaṇeśa is shown to the right, holding in the right hand a radish and with proboscis on the sweets held in the left. To the left is shown a female seated on a tripod and ready to strike with her hands, the drums (*mṛidaṅgas*) placed in front of her (Fig. 114).

The chief importance of the image under consideration lies in the fact that its features and attributes bear a very close resemblance, barring slight variations in details, to those of the Naṭarāja carved in Cave No. 1 at Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of Bombay.[1] (Fig. 115). In both the images the god holds in the uppermost two hands a snake with the raised hood shown towards the head of the deity, which in the Bādāmi image has been identified wrongly as an elephant-skin by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[2] Numerous images of Naṭarāja that appear on the temples of Bhubaneswar have a snake as one of the attributes and in the majority of them it is held in the uppermost two hands in a manner to be found in these images. Besides the snake the trident and the *vīṇā* (lute) to be found in both the specimens are almost identical in shape. The dance poses shown by the hands in both are also similar. Coming to the details of representation and ornamentation, we find in both the images an oval halo round the head, hair arranged in almost identical fashion, strings of pearls surmounted by a tiara on the forehead, a third eye, a circular *kuṇḍala* in the right ear and a *makara-kuṇḍala* in the left, a sacred thread, a belt round the belly and a chain with a lotus-end touching one of the feet that is slightly raised. In both, the dancing legs also make almost identical angles though in correspondingly opposite directions. In association with each of the images we also find a Gaṇeśa and an attendant with similar musical instruments. It must be noted that the Bādāmi Naṭarāja has been carved in the spacious wall of a cave temple, while the Bhubaneswar one is contained in a small grill with openings meant for

[1] *Memo. Arch. S. I.*, No. 25, p. 3, Plate IIa.
[2] Ibid. p. 3

letting out air and light, which must have imposed some limitations on the freedom of the sculptor. Certain deviations that are to be found, must, therefore, be attributed to the exigencies of space available. When, however, all the details are taken into consideration, no room is left for doubt that one is a replica of the other. The identity of detail in both the images situated so far apart from each other cannot be taken to be entirely accidental; they must be taken to be the results of close cultural contacts between Bhubaneswar and Bādāmi. It is to be noted again that among the numerous images of Naṭarāja at Bhubaneswar, this variety remains singular in its appearance.

The date of the Bādāmi Naṭarāja is approximately fixed by the date of Cave No. III at Bādāmi, which according to an inscription, dated Śaka 500 (A.D. 578), was excavated during the reign of the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa. Cave No. I containing the Naṭarāja is, however, considered to be the earliest of the group by one scholar,[1] and the latest by another.[2] At any rate, the Bādāmi Naṭarāja cannot be later than the close of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. The Bhubaneswar specimen so closely agreeing with the Bādāmi example in style and details of representation, should also be placed in the same period. With the help of several archaeological and traditional evidences, we shall have occasion later on to indicate the possibility of the early Chālukyas having extended their political and cultural hegemony over Orissa.

2. Several images of Naṭarāja are to be found in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, but unfortunately they have all been badly damaged. As we have already shown in Chapter V, the poses and attributes shown by the hands vary in the different representations in the same temple: But certain characteristics to be found in the image in the Mukteśvara compound, are also to be found in the Paraśurāmeśvara specimens. Like the former, the god holds a snake over the head with the uppermost two hands, and also shows similar poses with the hands and legs. But in the Paraśurāmeśvara group, the god is nowhere shown with the *viṇā* nor in association with Gaṇeśa or an attendant with musical instruments.

3. A third group characterized by similar poses and attributes may be found within elaborately carved medallions, on the front facades of the temples, Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara. In each case the deity is ten-

[1] *Memo. Arch. S. I.*, p. 2.
[2] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist & Hindu* (First Edition), p. 63.

armed; the uppermost hands are raised in a dance pose with the fingers turned towards the head. Of the main pair, the left swings across the body and the right is held up in front. The other right hands hold a *japāmāla*, a trident and a snake with raised hood. One of the left hands hold a skull (*kharpara*), and another is placed on the chin of a female figure seated or standing to the left. The last is a distinctive feature not to be found anywhere. The mount Nandī with the head upraised stands between the leg of the god. Almost a replica of this variety also occurs on the front facade of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple (Figs. 116-118).

4. The Mukteśvara temple also supplies us with several images of Naṭarāja occurring on the four facades of the *Śikhara*. The pose and the attributes shown by the god are already well-known. The god is shown eight-handed, the two uppermost hands holding a snake over the head and of the main pair, one swings across the body and the other is held up in *abhaya*. The other hands hold a trident, a club and a skull (*kharpara*). The mount is shown behind. This becomes the stereotyped form of the god and with some minor variations it occurs in all temples of the Brahmeśvara-Liṅgarāja group (Fig. 119).

5. The main peculiarity of the variety is that the god here performs the dance in company of the attendants who with musical instruments join him in his dance. The deity holds a snake over the head; the main pair are shown in the usual dance rhythm. Of the attributes in the other hands may be recognized a club and probably a trident. This form occurs in two panels of the Rājarāṇī and in one panel of the Megheśvara (Fig. 120).

6. A significant variety of the Naṭarāja image may be seen on the northern wall of the portal of the Pāpanāśinī temple built during the reign of Kapileśvaradeva (A.D. 1435-1467). The pose and attributes are almost similar to those of the preceding images and like the images of the fifth group, the god is shown with dancing attendants on either side. What constitutes the peculiarity of this image is the fact that the god here is shown as dancing on the back of the mount, a bull, which appears to have been enjoying the divine pastime (Fig. 121). In this respect the form has a striking similarity with a few of the images of Naṭarāja found in Bengal (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Fig. 23, Dacca University).

The approximate chronological grouping of the different varieties of Naṭarāja images is indicated by the association of each variety

with a particular temple or group of temples. The unique variety, now in the Mukteśvara compound, appears to be the earliest, while that in the Pāpanāśinī, the latest. The other varieties fall in between, but the differences are very slight and a chronological overlapping of the different varieties is not beyond the range of possibility. This is indicated by two images of an identical variety, one in the Rājarāṇī and the other in the Megheśvara which are separated from each other by at least more than a century.

Besides Naṭarāja, dancing images of other divinities are also found at Bhubaneswar. Reference may be made to dancing images of Arddhanārīśvara in the Paraśurāmeśvara, in the ruined Bharateśvara and the Mukteśvara. A female counterpart of Naṭarāja occurs in one of the panels in the Rājarāṇī. Such images bear the usual and characteristic attributes. Extremely rare in occurrence, they offer no basis for chronological or stylistic grouping. Dancing images of Gaṇeśa also begin to appear from the Mukteśvara onwards, but the form in the earliest specimen is already stereotyped.

9. HARA-PĀRVATĪ (Figs. 134-135)

1. Several varieties may be recognized in the images of Hara-Pārvatī one of which appears to have been associated with the early group of temples; but with reference to the others no such association can possibly be established. In the first, Hara and Pārvatī are seated side by side on a lotus seat below in which their respective mounts are shown. Hara has four hands of which the normal two usually hold a long *vīṇā* and the remaining two a *japāmāla* and a trident. Pārvatī is seated gracefully to left with her left hand on the seat and the right hand on the shoulder of the god with her face turned towards him. She appears to be listening to the music of the *vīṇā*. This form appears on the Paraśurāmeśvara and on the Vaitāl, and also as detached sculptures, one within the Bhāratī Maṭha (Fig. 134) and another within the Liṅgarāja compound. The goddess seated apart, and not on the lap of the god, is a distinctive feature of this form to be placed in the seventh to eighth century A.D. on account of the above association as well as on stylistic grounds.

2. In the second variety Pārvatī, facing Hara, is found seated on his lap. She holds a mirror in her left hand and encircles the neck of her lord with the right. The four-armed Hara embraces her with one of his hands and holds a trident in another. In the other two hands he shows *abhayamudrā* and a *japāmāla*. Generally a bull and a lion

are found on the pedestal. This form appears on the Megheśvara temple and also as detached sculptures in several other sites. It is difficult to assign this form chronologically to one particular period, except on stylistic grounds. Several early specimens of the form are also noticed at Bhubaneswar, and stylistic considerations and the presence of the halo, which is an early characteristic clearly indicate their early dating. This form thus appears to be the prevailing iconic type of the Hara-Pārvatī images at Bhubaneswar from the earliest period to the latest.

3. Mention should be made in this connexion to a unique image of Hara-Pārvatī now preserved within the *Jagamohana* of the Megheśvara. Here the god is shown as multi-headed, three only being visible, and with six hands. The three right hands show the *varada*, the *japāmāla* and a *kuṭhāra* (?). A trident encircled by a snake is placed to the right. One of the left hands is embracing the goddess while another holds a lotus. The goddess is seated on the left lap of the god, the right hand encircling his neck and the left holding a lotus (Fig. 135). No second example of this form has yet been discovered.

10. Ardha-Nārīśvara (Figs. 132-133)

Three distinct varieties of this deity assignable approximately to three epochs are to be found at Bhubaneswar.

1. The deity stands reclining on the bull shown behind and has in the male hands a *japāmāla* and a *vija-pūraka*. One of the female hands hangs down gracefully by the side, while the other holds a mirror. In the female part of the body an elaborate ear-ornament, a prominent breast and flowing garment reaching to the ankle, have been shown, while in the male part are found a simple *kuṇḍala* and a skin garment reaching to the knee. In the male part has also been shown the *ūrddhvaliṅga* and perhaps the third eye (Fig. 132). The form occurs in the Vaitāl, the Tāleśvara and the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temples and appears to have been characteristic of this early period.

2. A second variety occurs on the temple of Brahmeśvara. Like the preceding, it is also four-handed, but only three of its hands have survived. The lower right (male) hand holds a skull (*kharpara*) and the upper two (male and female) are raised in an attempt to affect a union over the head. In the female part jewelled ornaments, garments and a prominent breast have been shown, while the male part shows a garland of skulls, reaching to the thigh, and the *ūrddhvaliṅga* (Fig. 133).

3. This variety occurs on the temple of Megheśvara. It is two-handed, holding in the right hand a trident and in the left an indistinct object. The bull and the lion occur on the pedestal on the respective male and female sides of the deity, a characteristic alsc noticed in the second variety.

11. Dīkpālas (Figs. 35, 36, 38, 66)

Eight Dikpālas ,namely Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairṛita, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Iśāna (Śiva) are characteristically associated with the Bhubaneswar temples, as guarding the proper quarters of which they are protecting deities. In the earlier temples, however, they do not appear on the eight directions of which they are supposed to be the guardians. Among the dated temples we find them for the first time in the Brahmeśvara, carved exactly in their respective positions both on the walls of the sanctuary and the *Jagamohana*. Here Indra is found in the east, Agni in the south-east, Yama in the south, Nairṛita in the south-west, Varuṇa in the west, Vāyu in the north-west, Kubera in the north and Iśāna in the north-east. In the Rājarāṇī also the *Dikpālas* appear in their respective positions and the empty niches of the Mukteśvara might have contained originally the images of the guardian deities of the eight quarters. In the Paraśurāmeśvara the empty intermediate niches may lead to the inference of the possibility of their having originally contained the eight *Dikpālas*. They are not shown, however, on the Śiśireśvara and the Vaitāl. Leaving aside the doubtful cases of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Mukteśvara it may be said that the convention of carving the images of the guardian deities on the bodies of the temples, each in his respective position, came into vogue in the Somavaṁśī period and the practice continued till the latest period of temple-building activity in Orissa.

So far as extant temples go, the eight *Dikpālas* first apear on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, though not in their respective positions.. Here on the *Jagamohana* of the temple, they appear as a running frieze of sculptures, each figure in a separate panel. The characteristics and the features of these figures have already been discussed in a previous section and need not be repeated here.

During the period when the practice of carving the figures of *Dikpālas* in their respective positions came into vogue, the characteristics and attributes of such figures are already stereotyped and show very little definite change. Indra appears as riding an elephant and

hurling or holding a thunderbolt; Agni as a bearded figure rides a ram or has the same mount on the pedestal and flames rising from both sides; Yama as a terrific figure holds a *daṇḍa* and sometimes a noose and has a buffalo mount; Nairṛita holds a human head in the right hand and has a man lying prostrate on the pedestal; Varuṇa holds a noose and has a *makara* on the pedestal; Vāyu holds flag-staffs and has a rabbit or a stag as his mount; Kubera has on the pedestal several pots or eight pots hanging from a wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpa-vṛiksha*) and representing *ashṭa-nidhi*; and Iśāna has the usual attributes of Śiva but in addition also has a *daṇḍa* held in one of the hands. These late representations, however, differ from their earlier prototypes appearing on the *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, which have already been described. The main changes to be noted are that in the earlier group, Indra appears as sitting on a footed stool with a *daṇḍa* horizontally placed across the knees and Varuṇa has a noose in one of the hands and a duck on the pedestal.

In the Gaṅga Period, not only the guardian deities but also their female counterparts came to be carved on the *Vimānas* and the *Jagamohanas*. This convention, however, had not come into vogue in the early part of this period, because in the Megheśvara which is the earliest dated temple of the Gaṅga epoch, we find only the male guardian deities and not their female counterparts. In the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva which was built in the middle of the Gaṅga Period in A.D. 1278 these female counterparts appear just above the male guardian deities exactly with the same attributes and the same mounts as those of the latter. Yamī, for instance, appears on a buffalo and holds a noose and a *daṇḍa* in her hands; Indrāṇī appears on an elephant and holds a thunderbolt in her right hand, and so on. The custom of representing their *śaktis* with the male deities became very strong during this period, and all late Gaṅga temples of some importance are invariably found with the female counterparts of the guardian deities carved on them.

Besides the gods and the goddesses discussed above, there are images of other deities such as Andhaka-vadha-mūrti (Fig. 136), Gajanta-kārī-mūrti (Fig. 93), Maheśa-mūrti (Fig. 39), Kāma (Fig. 32), Ananta-Vāsudeva-Ekānaṁśā and Amogha-Siddhi (Fig. 21) which are to be found among the sculptures of Bhubaneswar. But such images are very rare in their occurrence and a chronological or typological grouping, based on a comparative study, is not possible. There are again, certain other images such as those of Sūrya and Ekapāda-

Śiva, which, though frequent in their occurrence, show no definite typological changes in the different periods.

It has been observed in the beginning that the conclusions reached by the typological studies of the cult images of Bhubaneswar are also valid with regard to the similar cult images to be found elsewhere in Orissa. This statement needs elaboration and illustration by actual specimens from other places alongside those of Bhubaneswar. But this task can hardly be attempted in the present work. By his own observations, the present writer, however, has tried to verify the results and has found them valid in almost all cases.

An analytical and comparative study as attempted above, leads to a definite division of the images of the principal divinities associated with the temple structures, into two broad types, one early and the other late, as deduced from a study of their distribution among the principal temples of Bhubaneswar. Even in images where such a broad division is not possible, the different varieties by their distribution, may also be found to supply rough chronological data regarding the prevalence of a particular form in a particular period. The results of such an iconographic study of the images are thus found to bear out and support those arrived at by a study of the architectural features and decorative motifs of the temples of which the dates are known, and all such results, when co-ordinated, will enable us to place the other temples, chronologically as well as stylistically, beyond any large measure of doubt.



IX

CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEMPLES: COGNATE GROUPS

THE temples at Bhubaneswar of which dates are known or can be surmised from the evidences of epigraphy have all been discussed in a previous chapter. We have also discussed their architectural features, their decorative motifs as well as the iconography of their images. There are numerous other temples at the place, and they form the majority, in which the epigraphic or palaeographic data, which we have taken to be more or less sure tests regarding the age of a particular monument, are entirely lacking. Fortunately, however, such temples can be correlated, on the basis of their architectural features, their decorative motifs and sculptures and iconography of their images, to one or other of the monuments of which the chronology is known. An analytical study of the dated and datable temples and its cumulative results, when applied to the study of the undated temples, bring out this correlation in an emphatic manner and it is possible to divide again, the undated temples as cognates of one or other of the dated and datable temples. Though the exact dates of their construction or consecration will for ever remain unknown, such temples can thus be placed to a particular epoch as cognates of the particular temple of which the date is known. Such a chronology, though approximate, is borne out by the logic of the evolutionary process experienced by the architectural movement through different epochs of Orissan history.

Śatrughneśvara (*c.* a.d. 575)

Even the earliest extant temple, the Śatrughneśvara, is found to be a mature conception and the origins of the monument apparently lie further back. The few detached sculptures of an earlier date, already noted, evidently formed parts of earlier structures, the shape and form

of which will, however, remain unknown. The two-armed Kārttikeya image (Fig. 96) with the peacock as the mount, *śakti* and *vijapūraka* as characteristic attributes and distinguished by the absence of the cock, is related to similar other figures from various parts of India, which, on good grounds, may be placed to an age in the fifth or sixth century A.D. Reference may also be made to three more detached images, now in the Bhāratī Maṭha. One of them is a mutilated image of Hara-Pārvatī (Fig. 134) which, to judge from its stylistic peculiarities such as the fine modelling of the torso, naturalism and perfect equipoise combined with a high standard of idealistic execution, may be placed in the fifth or sixth century A.D. The other two are Lakulīśa images (Fig. 125) which are distinguished from the numerous images of the same deity at Bhubaneswar by a high degree of spiritual expression imparted to them. The Lakulīśa images again carry with them some Buddhistic reminiscences. Stripped of their *lakuṭas* (clubs), these images with half-closed eyes, the *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudrā* and the haloes round their heads, would appear to be the good specimens of the Buddha images. The coils of lotus shoots to be found on their pedestals, have a great resemblance in shape to the wheels that appear on the pedestals of the Buddha images in *Dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudrā*. It is not unlikely that these early specimens of Brāhmaṇical art at Bhubaneswar were in some way connected with the school of Buddhist art that flourished at the Puṣpagiri Vihāra. The existence of the Puṣpagiri Vihāra prior to the seventh century is suggested by Yuan Chwang's accounts[1] which represent it as a highly elaborate establishment in its full glory at the time of his visit. The existence of the Puṣpagiri Vihāra in the fifth or sixth century is further testified to by the discovery at Ratnagiri, of a fragmentary stone inscription, most likely containing a Buddhist *Tantra*, which, as the late Mr R. Chandra observes, is "in very cursive Gupta characters" and "may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographic grounds."[2] The probability is that the inscription is still earlier. The deities that the above detached sculptures at Bhubaneswar represent, are found to be inseparably connected with temple structures and there can be no doubt that such sculptures formed parts of temples, no longer in existence, which were apparently earlier in date than the Śatrughneśvara.

The Śatrughneśvara represents a *śikhara* temple (Fig. 26), and its

1 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 193-4.
2 *Memo. Archl. S. I.*, No. 44, p. 5 and Plate.

shape, as available now, and the few sculptures that have been recovered, supply affinities with those of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh, also assigned to the sixth century A.D.[1] The sculptures of the Śatrughneśvara are marked by the vigour and exuberance of the designs recalling the best characteristics of post-Gupta art (Fig. 6). As already noted, it had a *Jagamohana* of which the rectangular plinth still exists. It seems to have been a pillared hall like the porch of the Paraśurāmeśvara, though unlike those in the Paraśurāmeśvara *Jagamohana* such pillars were octagonal in shape with lotus designs at intervals and lotus capitals at the top. The only pillar that had somehow escaped destruction, was lying inside this ruined temple and has now found place in the Orissa State Museum. The shape and designs of the pillars of the Śatrughneśvara resemble those in the Śiva temple at Bhumarā,[2] roughly contemporary in date, though it should be emphasized that in spite of such affinities, the Bhumarā temple architecturally belonged to an entirely different conception. The ruined temple of Lakṣmaṇeśvara standing by its side appears to be a closely analogous monument in shape as well as form (Fig. 27), and it is possible that a few more might lie buried under low mounds scattered through the neighbouring paddy-fields of the temple town.

The Parasurāmeśvara and its Group

The provision of a porch in front of the sanctuary, as we have in the Śatrughneśvara, indicates an advance on the design of the early *śikhara* temple and connects it with the monuments of the next group in Orissa, represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara. The date of the Paraśurāmeśvara (*c.* A.D. 650) has already been discussed and at Bhubaneswar there are at least two other temples, much damaged though, which can be recognized as close cognates of the Paraśurāmeśvara and must have belonged to this age. One of them is the ruined temple Bharateśvara, which stands near the Rāmeśvara, along with the Śatrughneśvara and Lakṣmaṇeśvara (Figs. 26-28). That it is a close contemporary of the Paraśurāmeśvara is proved not only by the shape and form of the *śikhara*, but also by the almost identical motifs decorating the front facade. The latter consists of an image of Lakulīśa at the top, of a Naṭarāja within a medallion with a border of beads and the scene of Rāvaṇa raising Mount Kailāsa in a similar medallion at the bottom (Figs. 41-42). The image of Lakulīśa in the

[1] R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 136.
[2] *Memo. Archl. S. I.*, No. 16, Plate V (a) and (b).

Bharateśvara has partly broken off; nevertheless the sculptures on the front facades of both the temples bear such remarkably identical features in style, execution and iconography as to suggest that they were the products perhaps of the same artist or artists trained in the same tradition. As in the Paraśurāmeśvara, some other scenes depicting incidents from Śiva's life are still to be found here in a damaged condition. On the northern wall of the *Vimāna* there is a sunken panel which contains the representation of a procession headed by two dancing girls and followed by some male figures and a man riding a bull. The scene evidently represents Śiva's marriage procession in which some of the intermediate figures can be recognized as Viṣṇu with a club and a conch-shell in the hands, Brahmā with three faces shown, and two attendants of Śiva hold tridents in their hands (Fig. 44). In the identical position on the southern *vāḍa* there was another scene from Śiva's life, which most probably depicted his marriage in the manner it is found on the Paraśurāmeśvara, but only one or two figures of the whole scene have survived.

The other is the temple of Svarṇṇajāleśvara which stands on the road from the Liṅgarāja to Kedāragaurī in the close vicinity of the Koṭithīrtheśvarah, and which like the Bharateśvara is now in an extremely damaged condition. The evidences that connect it with the Paraśurāmeśvara are that the cult images in both have the same attributes and that both possess close architectural affinities. It bears on the lintel of its northern niche a scene of Śiva's marriage, which can be regarded as a replica of the same scene carved on the lintel of the eastern niche of the Paraśurāmeśvara. The Svarṇṇajāleśvara, like all the early temples, also bears several scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in a sunken panel running round the *Vimāna* and marking the transition between the *vāḍa* and the *śikhara*. Some of these scenes have been damaged beyond identification but others, though partially preserved, can be identified in full. The first of these stories appearing on the north, is that of Rāma killing the golden deer. Rāma is seen here in the act of discharging an arrow at the deer which in the next panel assumes the terrific form of the demon Mārīchi. The trees represent the jungle where the scene took place. The second story appearing on the west represents *Vālī-badha*. Rāma is first seen here cutting down *sapta-śālas* and next two monkeys, who are evidently Vālī and Sugrīva, are seen in a close combat. The third scene on the south represents the fight between Kirāta and Arjuna, in which the boar has become the bone of contention. These

scenes of rare antiquarian and artistic value are now crumbling to pieces.

THE VAITĀL, THE ŚISIREŚVARA AND THEIR GROUP
(c. A.D. 700 – 900)

The next epoch produced a large number of temples at Bhubaneswar, of which ten or twelve are still *in situ* and the rest have perished leaving to us a large number of detached sculptures. The main reason for classifying them as products of one cultural epoch, is furnished by unmistakably identical features and characteristics in art and architecture. So far as architecture is concerned, the temples are characterized by the *pañcha-ratha* plan unlike the *tri-ratha* plan of the temples of the earlier group; by rectangular niches in the facades of their *śikharas*; by triangular or rectangular niches in the inner walls of their cellas with or without images; and by the same type of *Jagamohanas* with one door but no window and pillars inside. Apart from the above common characteristics, another significant feature of identity is furnished by the practice of building up the images of the *pārśva-devatās* in sections as part of the wall surface, instead of carving such images entire from one block of stone and then fixing them in niches. Such affinities may also be recognized in their sculptures, in the decorative schemes and in the iconography of the images. In style as well as in execution, the sculptures are characterized by a certain strength and vigour, combined with a balance and equipoise, and a charming modelling full of the plastic sense and perspective. Among the decorative motifs we find the common types of scrolls, foliated vase capitals, lotus medallions, lotus petals, Chaitya and half-Chaitya arches, the borders of beads in the medallions, the *Kīrtti-mukhas* flanked by lions with strings of pearls hanging from their mouths (Figs. 51-52), and dwarfs with uplifted hands flanking a central Chaitya arch (Figs. 53-54). The last two decorative patterns occur only on the temples of this group. In iconography, the images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Pārvatī, Mahiṣamardinī, Naṭarāja, Arddhanārīśvara and the planets occurring on these temples are bound together not only typologically but also as belonging to a common conception by their identical stances and poses, by the commonness of their respective attributes and by similar types of ornaments and dresses (Figs. 107, 98, 110, 112, 116-118, 132). The divine figures are separated and distinguished from the secular ones by the presence of haloes. The latter usually stand cross-legged, sometimes with

their weight resting on staffs fixed to the ground (Figs. 15-18). A Buddhist inspiration, as has already been observed in Chapter III, might have influenced the iconography and execution of a few of the images in the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara and this inspiration may perhaps be traced to the influence of the Bhaumas and of their art tradition that flourished under their patronage. This art tradition, it may be noted, served in its initial and formative stages the Buddhist religion. The artists reared in that tradition were imbued with Buddhist ideas and might have unconsciously left apparent traces of their training in erections of a different faith.

The above characteristics are common to the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, the Tāleśvara, the Vaitāl, the Śiśireśvara, the Mohinī, the Uttareśvara at Bhubaneswar and the Vahiraṅgeśvara on the top of the Dhauli hill. Besides, two small temples to the north of the Śiśireśvara in the compound of the family home of the Paramagurus and two others, now in half-buried condition in the midst of the bazar, might also possibly belong to this group. Of these, the Vaitāl, though a different architectural conception on account of the shape of its superstructure, bears significant similarities in sculpture, in decorative schemes and in iconography with other temples of this group with which it should be classed for our purposes.

Since in all the temples of this group, most or all of these common characteristics are to be noticed and since two most perfect temples of the group, the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara, may be assigned to the eighth century A.D. when available evidences testify to the extension of Bhauma influence in and around the region, the group may be placed as a whole to their epoch of influence. An analytical study of these temples indicates also stages of evolution which might have continued till the close of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

The temple of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, situated on the west bank of Vindusarovara, was in an utterly ruined condition, but is now in process of reconstruction undertaken by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.[1] In its architectural treatment, it is *pañcha-ratha* in plan and is provided with rectangular niches in the facades of the *Śikhara* and mouldings in the basement of the *Vimāna* as in the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group. The rectangular *Jagamohana* had only one door but no windows and no pillars inside. It had, however, an *antarāla* supported by two massive and round pillars, connecting the *Jagamohana* with the sanctum. The side-deities, as is usual in

[1] The restoration of the temple has since then been completed.

temples of the group, are built in sections. The images of Pārvatī and Arddhanārīśvara belong to the early type, closely similar to those in the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara. The Naṭarāja images within the Chaitya medallions on the facades of these three temples are exactly alike one another (Figs. 116-118). This close similarity may also be recognized in such decorative motifs as figures of dwarfs with uplifted hands flanking a central Chaitya arch and in figures standing cross-legged, in the figures of amorous couples in the sunken panel running round the *Vimāna*, in the dresses and ornaments of the figures etc. In these respects the Mārkaṇḍeśvara supplies us with a close analogue of the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group of temples. The sculptures as well as the motifs are marked by a vigour of execution and the possibility of its being the earliest extant temple of the group is suggested by the image of Mahiṣamardinī, already discussed in the previous chapter, which is of a type that is evidently earlier than the one characteristic of such images in the temples of the group.

Another ruined temple, Tāleśvara by name, situated in the paddy-fields in the close neighbourhood of the Paraśurāmeśvara, also bears architectural and sculptural peculiarities of this group of temples. The *Śikhara* has broken off, but the *vāḍas* of the *Vimāna* and the door frame that still remain, furnish enough evidence to connect it with this epoch. The lintel contains eight planets, and the jambs, the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the scrolls of the jambs are similar to those of the Vaitāl temple. The side-deities still existing are found to have been built in sections. Several sculptural specimens of this temple have been removed to the Orissa State Museum, of which one is an image of Lakulīśa and another is of Arddhanārīśvara, both built in sections. The latter is a close prototype of the image of the same deity to be found in the western *vāḍa* of the Vaitāl temple (Type No. 1). Another specimen, removed to the Museum, contains the dwarfs with uplifted hands, flanking a central Chaitya arch. This decorative design (Figs. 53-54), as has already been noted, is peculiar only to the temples of this group and is conspicuous by its absence in the other groups. The Tāleśvara, so far as available evidences indicate, belongs to the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group, probably a close contemporary of the Vaitāl as the style and execution of sculptures indicate.

The two notable temples of the period, the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara are still in a tolerably good state of preservation. We have already dealt with the peculiarities of their art and architecture. The

artistic excellence of the sculptures of the Vaitāl may be found lacking in the Śiśireśvara, but there is a class of evidence which connects the two in spite of their fundamental difference as architectural conceptions. In both we recognize the same sculptural designs and motifs, a few in such a manner as to suggest their being replicas of each other. The images of Naṭarāja that appear on the front facades of both, have not only identical characteristics, but they also appear in almost identical surroundings (Figs. 116-117). Certain decorative motifs favoured by the sculptors of the period such as the dwarfs with the uplifted hands that flank a central Chaitya arch, and the *Kīrttimukha* flanked by the two lions with strings of pearls hanging from their mouths, constitute conspicuous motifs in both the monuments (Figs. 53-54, 51-52). The two monuments, in spite of their belonging to different architectural conceptions, are found to possess in common more than mere affinities and cannot be widely separated from each other in time.

Two other small temples, now in ruined condition, stand to the north of the Śiśireśvara in the compound of the family home of the Paramagurus. The title of the family indicates that the family served as the preceptors or priests of some royal family and these temples enshrined their family deities. Although miniature in shape, they exhibit the same architectural dispositions, the same types of decorations and the same type of Naṭarāja as above and as such they should be included in the group.[1]

The temples so far discussed bear the above characteristics in their superb manifestations and as such they may be taken to be the products of the best period of this epoch. There are, however, four other examples, wholly undecorated, which, on account of certain characteristic features, may be placed to this epoch. There are the Mohinī temple situated on the southern bank of the Vindusarovara, the Uttareśvara situated on the northern bank of the same tank and two more unnamed ones, in the midst of the bazar half-buried in earth. The only image now found in the southern niche of the Mohinī is of Gaṇeśa which belongs to the early type and is allied to such images in other monuments of the group. It has a *Jagamohana* which is similar to that of the other temples, but with several free-standing pillars inside the hall. It is difficult to say whether these pillars were part of the original construction or later additions. The temple of Uttareśvara like the Mohinī, is also wholly undecorated. We have already

[1] One of these temples was recently pulled down.

shown that se.eral images which have been fixed to its walls and niches did not originally belong to it. It has a *Jagamohana* which is a close prototype of the others of the group. The Mohīnī contains a Chamuṇḍā as its presiding deity which is similar to the one in the Vaitāl temple. The Uttareśvara besides a Śiva *liṅgam*, also has a Chamuṇḍā. The seventeenth chapter of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* tells us that four images of Chaṇḍikā are to be found on the four banks of the sacred tank, Vindusarovara. Of these four, the images of Chamuṇḍā of the Mohīnī and the Uttareśvara temples apparently represent the two, and the other two are probably represented by the two images of Mahiṣamardinī now enshrined respectively in a miniature modern temple on the western bank and in a dilapidated laterite structure on the eastern bank. Since the two images of Chamuṇḍā are similar to the one in the Vaitāl temple, and since the two images of Mahiṣamardinī belong to the early type characteristic of this epoch, we should trace the origin of these four shrines back to this epoch. The dilapidated laterite structure on the eastern bank contains a badly defaced inscription which refers itself to the reign of the Gaṅga king, Vīra Narasiṁha. It is certain that the type of Mahiṣamardinī, which the shrine contains as its presiding deity, never occurs in any of the temples built during the Gaṅga period. The possibilities are that the inscription was either incised during the Gaṅga period, or though the shrine was existing from the period under observation, the temple was built during the Gaṅga supremacy.

The temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara stands on the top of the Dhauli hill and is in utterly ruined condition. But the walls of the sanctum that still remain, though unsculptured, clearly show affinities with other temples of this group. The images of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya that are still to be found in the side niches, are built in sections as part of the walls, and belong to their early types and are closely analogous to those in the temples of this group (Cf. Figs. 107, 98). There is an inscription in an artificial cave of this hill, dated in the year 93 of unspecified era, which refers itself to the reign of Śāntikaradeva,[1] and which credits Bhīmaṭa, a resident of Virajā (modern Jajpur), with the construction of a monastery. The year 93, when referred to the Harṣa era of A.D. 606, corresponds to A.D. 699 According to the chronology discussed later in this volume, the era to which the dates of the Bhauma records should be referred, began about the middle of the seventh century. Whatever may be the

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-4; Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 11.

interpretation of the date, it is apparent that towards the close of the seventh century A.D. or about the first half of the eighth, the hill of Dhauli again became a centre of religious activities during the reign of the Bhauma king Śāntikaradeva. Apart from the characteristic features presented by the temple, the above inscription also appears to support the ascription of the Vahiraṅgeśvara as a monument of this period.

The presence of not a few sculptures and architectural fragments bearing such features as are characteristic of the temples of this group, indicate the existence of more temples other than those *in situ*. The main consideration here, apart from stylistic peculiarities, is one of technique and iconography and in both these respects such sculptures are found to be closely allied to those that are familiar in the temples of this group. Reference, among others, may be made in this connexion to the three detached images of Mahiṣamardinī in the Vaitāl, the Śiśireśvara and the Chāranārāyaṇa, the image of Pārvatī in the Liṅgarāja compound (Fig. 109), the image of Kārttikeya in the Yameśvara compound (Fig. 98) and two images of Gaṇeśa originally in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā temple and now in the Orissa State Museum. Most of these images are built in sections. In iconography also they each present the early type and form characteristic of this period. From evidence stylistic as well as epigraphic, the extant temples have been ascribed to the Bhauma epoch of influence, and the monuments of which such detached sculptures once formed the parts, should be assigned to that period. The architectural fragment now underneath the ruined laterite building in the Yameśvara compound (Fig. 29), represents part of a *śikhara* which, with the early characteristics in shape and decoration schemes, might have belonged to an early monument of this period.

The monuments produced at Bhubaneswar during the Bhauma epoch of influence, may be divided into two sub-groups, the first represented by the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, the Tāleśvara, the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara and the second by the Mohinī, the Uttareśvara and the two half-buried temples in the midst of the bazar. The first group is characterized by a wealth of sculptures and decorative motifs that are significantly absent in the second. Such sculptures and decorative motifs in the first sub-group are distinguished by a strength and vigour combined with a balance and a chasteness of execution that make them the best products of the age. The dates of the temples no longer extant, cannot be ascertained. But from a few of the detached

sculptures exhibiting the same vigour and excellence, some such temples might have been correlated to the temples of the first sub-group which, on the evidences of the Vaitāl and the Śiśireśvara, may be placed in the eighth century A.D. In the other sub-group, headed by the Mohinī the temples present a rather bald appearance because of sparse decoration, and the sculptures too lose much of their vigour and elegance. Possibly they indicate a later period of decadence, say the ninth century A.D., when the tradition itself was on the wane due perhaps to the decline of the power of the Bhaumas.

THE BRAHMEŚVARA AND ITS GROUP (*c*. A.D. 960—1065)

The next dated temple is the Brahmeśvara, erected, as we have already shown, about A.D. 1060 by the mother of the Somavaṁśī king Uddyota Keśarī in the eighteenth year of the latter's reign. The gap between the Vaitāl Śiśireśvara group and the Brahmeśvara is rather large. The Brahmeśvara supplies us with some well-marked features and characteristics that became distinctive of the Orissan temple type in the later ages. It may not be unreasonable to conclude that the Orissan temple type reached its complete form towards the close of the Somavaṁśī period. The architectural activities in the later periods though by no means scarce, were more concerned with elaboration than with any introduction of new features or forms indicating new directions of development.

The Orissan temple form as we see in the Brahmeśvara and so grandly exemplified in the majestic Liṅgarāja, is certainly the result of a long process of evolution through centuries beginning from the period of the earliest extant temple. Hence it may be possible to bridge up the long gap between the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group and the Brahmeśvara by a study of the evolutionary process. It has already been noted that certain temples, allied to the Vaitāl-Siśireśvara group indicate a decline in the tradition due perhaps to the waning power of the Bhauma-karas in the ninth century A.D. Their decline is noticed not so much in the shape and form of the temple as in their sculptures. There are certain temples at Bhubaneswar with distinct architectural affinities with the temples of the Vaitāl-Śiśireśvara group but with indications of a resurgence of the movement that is linked up also, to a certain extent, with the Brahmeśvara. It may not be unreasonable hence to trace this resurgence to the advent of the Somavaṁśī-Keśarīs in Orissa about the middle of the tenth century

A.D. The small but exquisite temple of Mukteśvara is an instructive example of this resurgence.

The Date of the Mukteśvara

While describing the architectural and sculptural features of this monument in Chapter III, we have shown that the Mukteśvara actually divides the temples of Bhubaneswar into two broad groups, early and late. In shape and form of the *śikhara*, in its *pañcha-ratha* plan and in the sunken cornice, it may be found to have possessed affinities with the Śiśireśvara and other temples of the preceding group. But there are certain features, such as the *piḍhā* form of the *Jagamohana*, the smooth and rounded edges, and certain details in sculptural decoration and iconography which lead us on to the Brahmeśvara in the ultimate analysis. It must, however, be admitted that the relation between the two is not close but distant, because certain architectural and sculptural features which are to be found in a nascent stage in the Mukteśvara have developed into their full-fledged forms in the Brahmeśvara. For instance, the incomplete form of the *piḍhā* temple to be found as the porch of the Mukteśvara, has assumed its full-fledged type in the Brahmeśvara; three niches to be found on each facade of the former have been simplified into one bigger in the latter; and the projections appearing in the former have assumed definite and pronounced depth in the latter. In the iconography of the images, again we find significant links with the Brahmeśvara. The cock absent in the earlier groups appears in association with the Kārttikeya images first in the Mukteśvara, and anticipates the cock-crest held up by a female figure as we find in the Kārttikeya images of the Brahmeśvara and other later temples (Figs. 99-101). Ketu first appears among the planets in the Mukteśvara and continues to appear in the Brahmeśvara and all other later temples. In the Mukteśvara the figure of Ketu has a three-hooded snake over the head, but in the later group it is a human figure with a serpentine lower part. In spite of such differences in the representation, the links are real and significant and instances can be multiplied to show that both the structures are related to each other, not by close but distant affinities. The Mukteśvara is thus an ancestor of the Brahmeśvara, but it is a grand ancestor.

We know definitely that the Brahmeśvara was built by the mother of the Somavaṁśī king Uddyota Keśarī in about A.D., 1060 and it is just likely that the Mukteśvara was about a century earlier, i.e. it may

be placed about the beginning of the Somavaṁśī Period. The fine execution of this small temple with its superb proportions and exquisite finish of the sculptures and other decorations indicates a resurgent movement linked up, as we have already observed, probably with the advent of the Somavaṁśī-Keśarī dynasty. Reference may be made in this connexion to the three temples of Baudh situated in the upper Mahānadī Valley which was included in the Kośala country, the original seat of power of the Somavaṁśīs. The three small temples of Baudh are of almost the same height and have identical architectural and sculptural peculiarities. The ground plan in each case is starlike, which is most likely necessitated by the cult practised in these shrines. The *śaktis* of the Śiva-liṅgas enshrined in them are also starlike and these shapes indicate that both the temples and deities were made in the form of *maṇḍalas* or mystic figures, with the help of which the Tāntrikas wanted to attain their *siddhis.*[1] Barring these peculiarities in their planning, these three temples are otherwise linked up with the Mukteśvara in respect of other features. All these monuments and the Mukteśvara possess in common the same subdivisions at the base, such as *Pāda*, *Kumbha*, *Pāṭa*, *Kaṇi*, and *Vasanta* with a leaf design in the *Kumbha* linked up with a Chaitya arch above; the same form of rounded corners and the same kind of sunken panel marking the transition between the *Vimāna* and *Śikhara.*

We also find in them the same forms of the nine, not eight, planets, in which Rāhu has been represented by a head, but not by a half-bust figure; the same types of door-keepers, *alasakanyās*, *Kīrtti-mukhas*, Chaitya arches, the dwarfs with uplifted hands as if supporting the *śikhara*, and the same form of pouncing lions with riders. What is however most significant is the fact that certain forms of decorations which are peculiar to the Mukteśvara alone and not to be found in other Bhubaneswar temples, except one or two that are its close contemporaries, are also to be found in these Baudh monuments. These decorations consist of a peculiar type of interlacing scrolls (Fig. 57) that occurs in its *śikhara* and the pitchers (*kumbhas*) carved in *alto-relievo* in its *Vimāna*. A large Chaitya arch flanked by the two Saivite images holding a chain with a bell at the end, dropped into a lotus medallion, which, in the Bhubaneswar temples, occurs for the first time on the Mukteśvara (Fig. 57) and then on the later temples with an imperfect knowledge of its character, is also to be found on the facades of the Baudh temples, though in a badly mutilated condition. The

[1] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 68.

decorations in the *śikhara* of the Mukteśvara partly consist of a female figure opening a door with a parrot sitting at the top which has been repeated in several panels, and of the miniature images of Lakulīśa in various *mudrās*; these images too occur in the Baudh monuments in the same forms.

The Baudh temples situated within the original seat of the Somavaṁśī power, were probably erected during their regime. The correlation of these temples with the Mukteśvara as recognized in the above features is significant and striking and naturally leads us to the supposition that the latter also belonged to the early period of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. A discussion of the evidence of tradition current at Bhubaneswar and that in the *Mādalā Pāñji* may not be found unfruitful in this connexion. The tradition current at Bhubaneswar credits Yayāti Keśarī with the building of the Mukteśvara. Jajāti Keśari with two other kings is also credited with the building of the Liṅgarāja temple (the temple of Kṛittivāsa) by the same tradition and also by the *Mādalā Pāñji*.[1] The two temples are so very dissimilar in their evolutionary forms that they appear to be far removed from each other in point of chronology and the attribution of the two to one and the same king was possibly due to a confusion between Yayāti I and Yayāti II. In all probability, the temple of Mukteśvara was built by Yayāti I whose reign, according to the chronology adopted by Dr D. C. Sircar and followed by us, began in about 950 and ended in A.D. 975[2] This conclusion is consistent both with the archaeological evidence, just analysed above, and also with the tradition.

A traditional verse of uncertain origin avers that Lalāṭendu Keśarī built the temple of Kṛittivāsa in the Śaka year 588 (A.D. 666).[3] The *Mādalā Pāñji* adopts this date without quoting the verse and gives us further the information that the temple structure was begun by

[1] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī Edition), p. 6.
[2] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 330-7.
[3] The verse is:

Gaj-āṣṭeṣu mite jāte
Śākābde Kṛittivāsasaḥ ।
Prāsād-makarot rājā
Lalaṭendu-ścha keśarī ॥

(*Gaja* = 8, *aṣṭa* = 8, *iṣu*—5. Reversing the digits the year 588 is obtained).

This verse was known to the earlier writers also. Mr R. Chanda makes the following observation about it:

"An old Brahmaṇ Pandit of Bhubaneswar told the present writer that on a stone near the summit of the spire of the Liṅgarāja is engraved with a stanza which says that the temple was built by Raja Lalāṭendu Keśarī in the Śaka year 588 (A.D. 666). This tradition is well known, and Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Second Edition) accepted it as genuine. Burgess, in the revised edition of Fergusson's *History* places the

Yayāti Keśarī, continued by Ananta Keśarī and completed by Lalāṭendu Keśarī in the Śaka year 588.[1] The only old document in which this verse has yet been found recorded is a palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Palace Library of the defunct Keonjhar State. The leaf containing the verse has been published by the present writer conjointly with Pandit B. Misra.[2] The date given in the verse as recorded in the manuscript is the Śaka year 888, and not 588. Credence should be given to the year embodied in the verse recorded in the manuscript,[3] which corresponds to A.D. 966 and thus comes within the range of probability for the date of a Somavaṁsī or Keśarī monument. As to the verse containing the Śaka year 588 or A.D. 666, it should at once be rejected, firstly because it finds no authentic mention in any old record and secondly because it gives too early a date to a temple stated to have been erected by a king of the Somavaṁśi dynasty which, according to available evidence cannot be placed earlier than the latter half of the tenth century A.D. If the Liṅgarāja was erected in A.D. 666, it becomes a contemporary of the Paraśurāmeśvara which, as we have shown on various grounds, was built about this period and this will have the effect of ignoring altogether the divergences that the two monuments present from the point of view of evolution.

The chronology of the Keśarī or Somavaṁśī kings as given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* is wholly untrustworthy. It puts the end of the reign of Yayāti Keśarī, whom it takes to be the founder of the dynasty, at the Śaka year 448 (A.D. 526).[4] Even if Yayāti Keśarī of this traditional work is taken to be Yayāti I of the Somavaṁśi dynasty, such a date will be absurdly early, for, we have already seen that an expert epigraphist like Dr Fleet on palaeographic considerations[5] placed

Liṅgarāja between 900 and A.D. 1000, with other temples like Mukteśvara, Bhagavatī and Brahmeśvara". *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-4, pp. 119-22. The report that the verse has been engraved on a stone near the summit of the spire of the Liṅgarāja, is absolutely false. The use of the Śaka era is not found in the Bhauma and Somavaṁśī inscriptions. So the verse containing the traditional date in the Śaka year could have been composed in the Gaṅga Period at the earliest, when this era first came to be used in Orissa.

[1] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī Edition), pp. 6-8.

[2] *Modern Review*, March, 1938, Vol. LXIII, pp. 301-5; see the reproduction of the leaf containing the verse on p. 347.

[3] The verse here is:

Gaj-āṣṭ-āṣṭa mite jāte Śākābde Kṛittivāsasḥ | Prāsādaṁ kṛitavān-dhīmān Lalātenduścha-Keśarī ||

(Gaja=8, aṣṭa=8, aṣṭa=8. We thus get 888).

[4] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī Edition), pp. 5-6; Hunter, Orissa, II, Appendix VII, pp. 183-191.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 347 ff.

the early Somavaṁśi inscriptions in the eleventh century and that Dr D. C. Sircar on their closer examination has found it possible to assign them to the tenth century A.D.,[1] but not earlier. The wholly wrong dates, assigned by the chronicle to the Keśarī or Somavaṁśī kings with a great show of an accurate chronology, seem to have arisen from the initial mistake in computing the date of the completion of the temple of Kṛittivāsa, which, as we have already seen, is A.D. 966 according to the verse recorded in an old manuscript, and not A.D. 666 as orally handed down. It must be remembered that the dates and facts connected with the temples were the main points of interest of this temple chronicle, and on their correctness, the correctness of other dates and facts have necessarily been dependent. Having lost 300 years in the computation of the date of the Kṛittivāsa temple, it has been at pains to make up for the loss by introducing fictitious names into the dynasty, assigning fantastic lengths to some of the reigns, incorporating the local rulers into the lists of the names of the main dynasty, inventing the names of the rulers after the names of the living monuments and the ruling dynasties, and so on. We shall have further occasions to examine the traditions contained in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, which, like all traditions, must have some basis in fact, but which, when utilized by some uncritical local historians of Orissa, appears to have done more harm than good to Orissan history.

The name of Lalāṭendu Keśarī, like many other names in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, is otherwise unknown. What we can glean from the above discussion is that a temple of Kṛittivāsa (Śiva) was built in A.D. 966, but this temple does not appear to be the Liṅgarāja with which the temple of Kṛittivāsa is usually identified. The ground that we have already covered in our study of the Orissan temple form, cannot place the Liṅgarāja earlier than the second half of the eleventh century A.D. Kṛittivāsa is a general epithet of the god Śiva and any temple of Śiva might be designated by that name. The date A.D. 966 as the date of the construction of a Śiva temple at Bhubaneswar appears to have been definitely established. The temple of Mukteśvara, according to the tradition current at Bhubaneswar, was built by Yayāti Keśarī who should be identified as Yayāti I, an early king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, as all evidences of architectural and sculptural evolution discussed above, place this monument in the early part of the Somavaṁśī period. The date A.D. 966 falling within the reign of Yayāti I (*c.* A.D. 950-975) according to the accepted chronology,

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XX, March 1944, p. 81.

it appears that the temple of Kṛittivāsa as recorded in the above verse, refers to the Mukteśvara and not to the Liṅgarāja.

Sureśvara and Gaurī Temples: There are two other temples at Bhubaneswar, which may be regarded as close contemporaries of the Mukteśvara. One of them is the Sureśvara, a very small structure, which stands near the Koṭitīrtheśvara temple in the close neighbourhood of the Svarṇṇajāleśvara, and the other is the Gaurī temple situated in the compound of the Kedāreśvara. These two temples have in common with the Mukteśvara, the plinths of raised platforms on which they stand, the same types of *alasa-kanyās*, scrolls, the dwarfs with uplifted hands, pitchers (*kumbhas*) carved in *alto-relievo* in the *Vimānas* and the large Chaitya arches flanked by bearded figures holding a long chain (cf. Fig. 57). The temple of Sureśvara has on the front facade a Naṭarāja which is an exact prototype of those to be found in the Mukteśvara. Its *śikhara* is wholly undecorated, but the *Vimāna* has decorations which are almost identical with those of the Mukteśvara. The small Gaurī temple is of the *Khākharā* type which is akin to the Vaitāl temple in its architecture, and thus represents a different architectural conception. When the late M. M. Ganguly wrote his book in 1916, the front part of it was in ruins.[1] It has since then been repaired and carved, but the modern carvings become sharply distinguished from the original ones in spite of the attempts of the sculptors to bring about a uniformity in them.

The Rājarāṇī: The superb temple of Rājarāṇī bears certain architectural features rare in their occurrence in the other temples at Bhubaneswar. In spite of such features, which seem to lend it a somewhat exotic appearance, the temple has a distinct relation with the evolution of the Orissan temple form and a comparative study may not be unprofitable for ascertaining its approximate place in the evolution. The clusters of miniature turrets round the body of the main tower as we have in the Rājarāṇī are inherent in the logic of the evolutionary direction of the Orissan temple form, and cannot be regarded as sufficient to attribute this feature to an alien tradition as previous scholars have done. Its magnificent sculptures are unparalleled in the history of plastic art in Orissa, and they are more akin to the Mukteśvara, the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja, than to any other. It is apparent, hence, that its chronological position lies somewhere about the dates of these temples and to this the architectural and sculptural evidences lend support.

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, Plate XI.

The Rājarāṇī bears some distinct affinities, architectural as well as sculptural, with the Mukteśvara. Like the Mukteśvara it has an undeveloped *piḍhā* temple as its porch, and like the same monument it stands on a slightly raised platform, a feature which is conspicuous by its absence in the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja. Like the Mukteśvara it has in its decorations the minute figures of lions charging elephants from the front or the rear, a motif that is peculiar to only these two temples. Moreover, the motifs of Suparṇṇa with *vīṇā* or cymbals (Fig. 74) and of the *muktā-lobhī-rājahaṁsa* (Fig. 75), supply further points of correlation with the Mukteśvara. The sculptures as well as the decorative motifs in both are closely alike in the chasteness and freedom of their execution, the greater charm of the Rājarāṇī sculptures being due to their increased depths probably indicating an advance on those of the Mukteśvara. Another parallelism between the two temples appears to have been furnished by the representation of Lakulīśā along with the disciples and the Pāśupata teachers on the *Jagamohana* lintel of the Rājarāṇī and on the lintel of the Marichi-kuṇḍa in the Mukteśvara (Figs. 129-130). These almost identical designs which do not appear in any other temple at Bhubaneswar, supply another point of close contemporaneity of both the structures. But as the Marichikuṇḍa is not an integral part of the Mukteśvara, which might well have come into existence at a later date, no definite conclusion can be drawn on the basis of these identical motifs. The *Jagamohana* of the Rājarāṇī and the Megheśvara contain in front walls, near their doors, two round pilasters with Nāgas and Nāgīs carrying garlands in their hands. Since the latter has no other affinities with the former, we may conclude that only this feature was borrowed by the latter from the former. Apart from the above affinities with the Mukteśvara which are clear and distinct, the Rājarāṇī may also be recognized to have some links with the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja in the decorative scheme of the pilaster basements, in certain decorative female figures and in the iconographic forms of the *Dikpālas* and their disposition along their appropriate positions. It appears therefore that the Rājarāṇī belongs to a period intermediate between the Mukteśvara and the Brahmeśvara. The boldness of its conception and the elegance of its decorations ascribe it to the palmy days of the Somavaṁśī rule.

One other temple that bears the features of the Rājarāṇī may also be assigned to this period. It stands on the left side of the road to Puri, in the close neighbourhood of the eastern gate of the Liṅgarāja

compound, and is known as the Ḍākrā Bhīmeśvara. This monument has projecting turrets in its *śikhara* in the same way as those of the Rājarāṇī, and like the latter, a number of obscene figures also. This second example, so like the Rājarāṇī in its architectural conception, is a clear proof that the Rājarāṇī was no isolated example owing its conception to an extraneous tradition.

The Liṅgarāja temple: We have already spoken of the architectural and sculptural features of the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja temples and have generally discussed the affinities that the one presents to the other. The correlation between them is to be noticed in the fully developed *piḍhā* temples which appear as their porches; in the appearance of similar types of *gaja-siṁhas* and *vyālīs* in the recesses between their well-informed pilasters; in the projecting figures of *gaja-siṁhas* in the *rāhā-pāgas* of the *śikharas*; in the single niches of the *vaḍas*, enshrining deities carved out of single blocks of stone; in the division of the *jaṅghās* into two sections, upper and lower, by a course of mouldings known as *vandhana*; in the *aṅga-śikharas* in vertical rows in the *anurāhā-pāgas*; in the Navagraha architraves with the figures of planets exhibiting the same type and form; in the images of such deities as Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa (Cf. Figs. 100, 108), each in an identical form; in the representations of the *Dikpālas*, each with the same mounts and same attributes, in eight directions of their *Vimānas* and *Jagamohanas*; in the identical types of the decorative female figures, discussed at some length in Chapter VII; in the remarkable similarity to be found in the other decorative motifs; and finally in the almost identical slopes presented by the *śikharas*. Moreover, both the temples are characterized by the absence of the plinths or raised platforms. These distinct affinities make the two cognates of each other. Again, there are certain motifs, not to be noticed in any other temple of Bhubaneswar, which indicate also that they were close contemporaries of each other. The identities in the details of representation and the execution of these motifs were, in all probability, due to their being produced by the same artist, or by artists reared in an identical tradition. Reference may be made in this connexion to a panel containing the figures of Nanda, Yaśodā and the child Śrī Kṛishṇa, that appear on the southern facade of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja,[1] and another in almost the same form on a facade of the small temple at the north-east corner

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Pl. bet. pp. 412-13, and *Annual Report of Archl. Survey of India*, 1923-4, pp. 119-22 and Plate XL (d).

of the Brahmeśvara (Figs. 83A-83B). According to the Brahmeśvara Inscription,[1] this is one of the four subsidiary structures built along with the main temple with which it was certainly contemporary. In both the panels, Nanda is a bearded figure sitting opposite Yaśodā who is engaged in churning curds, and the child Śrī Krishṇa is shown by the side of the vessel containing curds. We have already spoken in Chapter VII the panels with a royal figure that appears in both the temples (Figs. 84-85). In the Liṅgarāja he is found engaged in reading a copper plate and in the Brahmeśvara, he appears as a warrior, but in both his royalty is indicated by the two parasols held over the head. We have also suggested that there had been an attempt to portray one and the same king in both the temples. This royal figure may in all probability, represent Uddyota Keśarī or his father Yayāti II alias Chaṇḍīhara.

Even apart from the above, the close contemporaneity of the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja are apparent in their architectural and sculptural features. The Brahmeśvara temple was erected by the mother of Uddyota Keśarī in the eighteenth year of the latter's reign (*c*. A.D. 1060). Hence there is strong probability that the Liṅgarāja was built about the same period. The tradition current in Bhubaneswar credits Yayāti Keśarī and Lalāṭendu Keśarī, with the building of this great temple. As already shown the *Mīdalā Pāñji* also states that its construction was begun by Yayāti Keśarī, continued by Ananta Keśarī and completed by Lalāṭa Keśarī. In two of the copies of this chronicle, a fourth king, Sūrya Keśarī, is also mentioned as the co-builder of the temple,[2] but these copies contradict their own statements by agreeing with the other copies that the structure was completed in three generations.[3] We should therefore reject the fourth name and take Yayāti Keśarī, Ananta Keśarī and Lalāṭa or Lalāṭendu Keśarī as the builders of the Liṅgarāja according to traditional accounts. Of these three names only Yayāti Keśari can be identified with Yayāti (II) of the Somavaṁśī Dynasty, but the other two do not appear in the genealogical lists given in the Somavaṁśī copper-plates.[4] In the copper-plate grants Uddyota Keśarī appears as the son and successor of Yayāti II, but in the *Mādalā Pāñji* it is Ananta Keśarī who has apparently been represented as the successor of the same king. It is, therefore, not unlikely that

[1] *J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII, pp. 70-2.
[2] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchi Edition), p. 6.
[3] Ibid. p. 7.
[4] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, December 1946, p. 307.

Uddyota Keśarī being a most uncommon and unfamiliar name might have been converted into Ananta Keśarī in the traditional accounts. Lalāṭa or Lalāṭendu Keśarī is otherwise unknown from any other source, but there is a cave in the Khaṇḍagiri hill locally known as Lalāṭendu Keśarī Gumphā, which still bears an inscription of Uddyota Keśarī, dated in the fifth year of his reign.[1] So it seems likely that Lalāṭendu Keśarī was another name of Uddyota Keśarī. There are evidences that some kings of the Somavaṁśī-Keśarī dynasty bore more names than one. Yayati II, father of Uddyota Keśarī, also bore another name, that of Chaṇḍīhara.[2] The conflicting evidences of the copper-plates and of the traditional accounts can be reconciled, if we take Ananta Keśarī and Lalāṭendu Keśarī to be two other names of Uddyota Keśarī. The Liṅgarāja temple being a stupendous structure, it is also most probable that it was begun by Yayāti II (*c.* 1020-1040) and completed by his successor Uddyota Keśarī (*c.* 1040-1065), the last great king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty. The Bhubaneswar tradition, if we identify Lalāṭendu Keśarī with Uddyota Keśarī, appears to be more authentic. The *Mādalā Pāñji* tradition extends the period of building into three generations probably because of the multiplicity of the names of Uddyota Keśarī.

Some more temples of the period can be traced in various parts of Bhubaneswar, but they are mostly unimportant, and in some cases bear no names. Reference may be made to a small but pretty structure, known as the Tapaneśvara, that stands to the west of the Liṅgarāja. The temple consists of a *Jagamohana* and the *Deul.* The top of the *Jagamohana* is missing, but the sanctum bears distinct affinities with the Brahmeśvara-Liṅgarāja group. Another temple, that stands behind the Temple Committee Office to the east of the Liṅgarāja, bears the same affinities with the group. It bears *aṅga-śikharas* similar to those of the Liṅgarāja and some superb specimens of sculptures that hardly attract the notice of anybody because of its obscure position. The Gaṇeśa temple situated at the foot of the Dhauli hill was also a monument of this epoch. In spite of its reconstruction and

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 166. In an article recently sent to the *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, for publication, the present writer has shown that two other digits, 4 and 9, which occur after 5 at the end of the first line, have been left unnoticed by Prof. R. D. Banerji, the editor of the epigraph. The date given in the inscription is not 5, but 549. If my reading of the date is accepted and there are reasons to believe that it will be accepted, the year 549 has to be referred to the Gaṅga Era, generally taken to have commenced from A.D. 496. The date of the inscription will thus be A.D. 1049 which falls within the reign-period of Uddyota Keśarī as ascertained from other sources. (Uddyota Keśarī's reign has been placed between A.D. 1040 and 1065; *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-307).

[2] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1946, p. 307.

modification, it clearly betrays the architectural and sculptural features of the Liṅgarāja. The image of Gaṇeśa, the presiding deity of the temple, is a close prototype of the one to be found in the southern niche of the Liṅgarāja. Both the images are almost identical even in their details of decorations and the arrangement of the hair.

The Kedāreśvara and its Cognate Group
(*c.* A.D. 1075—1176)

As we have already seen, the inscription in the Kedāreśvara temple proves that it was built before A.D. 1142 and its architectural features indicate that it might have come into existence in the last part of the eleventh century or the first part of the twelfth. Three other temples, which appear to be cognate members of the Kedāreśvara, are the Rāmeśvara, the Alāvukeśvara and the Siddheśvara[1] and these four form a homogeneous group with distinctive features of their own that mark them out from the remaining temples of Bhubaneswar. These features indicate that they belong to a transitional period, when the traditions created in the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī period were on the decline and the palmy days of the art and architecture of the Gaṅga supremacy were still to come. The members of the group do not share the advanced architectural features which, as we shall presently see, developed during the Gaṅga period. Neither do they possess the signs of that exuberance or vigour with which the monuments of the glorious days of the Somavaṁśīs have been marked. There are distinct evidences in two of them to show that they represent older shrines. The entire plinth of the Rāmeśvara temple has been built of the stones of an earlier temple, as is apparent from the fact that most of the stones forming the plinth bear clamp-marks, and some, the specimens of the earliest temple sculpture. We have already shown that the Siddheśvara likewise represents an earlier temple and has been built out of the parts of an earlier structure (Fig. 9). In the Aḷāvukeśvara the different colours of the stones utilized in the building indicate that, like the other two, it might have utilized the earlier materials. These temples thus represent a period when some of the most ancient shrines were renovated or reconstructed.

All these temples are of *pañcha-ratha* type and they have no raised

[1] The temple which has been described as Mukteśvara in all works, is locally known as Siddheśvara, which is also borne out by the descriptions given in the sacred texts of the place. The temple which we describe here under the name of Siddheśvara is locally known as Mukteśvara. We do not, however, make any change in the names in deference to the nomenclatures already adopted by the previous writers.

platforms as their plinths. They have also no guardian deities on their *Vimānas* or *Jagamohanas*. The absence of these features indicate that they could not have belonged to the late Gaṅga period when even the smallest and poorest temples possessed them. One peculiarity which unites them all, is that their *āmalakas* crowning the summits, make an angle with the last *bhūmis* of their spires, a peculiarity which is not to be found in any other group. These temples, except the *pārśva-devatās* in their side niches, are mostly devoid of sculptural decorations. Only in two of them, viz. in the Rāmeśvara and the Kedāreśvara, we find the decorative female figures carved in the recesses between the pilasters. Stylistically these figures form a homogeneous group marked by a degree of excellence worthy of the traditions created by the great Somavaṁśī kings. All these monuments are fairly large-sized *pañcha-ratha* temples.

The Megheśvara, the Ananta-Vāsudeva and their Group (*c.* A.D. 1195—1425)

While dealing with the Megheśvara (*c.* A.D. 1195) and the Ananta-Vāsudeva (A.D. 1278) built definitely during the period of the Gaṅgas, we have already described most of the architectural and sculptural peculiarities of the Gaṅga monuments, but in order to define them in a concise form, a brief resumé is necessary here.

One architectural peculiarity which may be regarded as an advance on the designs of the former monuments, is the *sapta-ratha* plan recognized to be a characteristic feature of all the notable monuments of the period. The direction in the development of the design of the temple, it has already been observed, is supplied by the increase in the number of projections on each face of the temple. The earliest monuments, now extant, show one such projection in the middle of each face, and each face is thus divided into three surfaces (*tri-rathas*). This *tri-ratha* plan develops into the *pañcha-ratha* by two such projections and the Somavaṁśī monuments exhibit this plan in its complete form. The next stage is apparently the *sapta-ratha* plan which, however, does not come into view, so far as the extant monuments are concerned, before the Gaṅga period. The Megheśvara, the earliest of the Gaṅga temples at Bhubaneswar shows the beginnings of a *sapta-ratha* plan, conspicuous by its absence in the preceding periods, and as time passed on, this plan came to be the established rule with the Gaṅga monuments. The accumulated experiences of the past in temple building were utilized to co-ordinate skilfully this elaborate design, hori-

zontally as well as vertically, to build strong and compact edifices. But the builders of this period like the earlier builders could not select the right types of stone, a fact that, more than their age, has been responsible for the comparatively greater wear and tear. The evolution of the three-chambered frontal adjunct is to be traced to this period. We have seen that in the early groups of temples, the frontal porch consisted of a single rectangular low *maṇḍapa* with a clerestoried flat roof; in the Mukteśvara it was something of a *piḍhā*; and in the Brahmeśvara a full-fledged *piḍhā* temple came into view. In the Gaṅga period, in all the important structures, the frontal adjunct consisted of three chambers known as the *Jagamohana* (audience hall) the *Nāṭamandira* (dancing hall) and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* (offering hall).

The important Liṅgarāja that originally possessed a single chamber as its porch, was furnished with two more, apparently during the Gaṅga period. Again the side niches on the sanctum walls were converted into the miniature shrines with subsidiary structures in front of them, that varied in shape from miniature temples to high-stepped platforms. These additional side structures, besides being subsidiary shrines, also served as propylons to strengthen the central structures, namely the *Vimānas*. The temples of Jagannātha, Koṇārka and Ananta-Vāsudeva that definitely belong to this period bear this architectural feature, also shared by the smaller examples like the Yameśvara and the Chitreśvara. It is true that the temple of Liṅgarāja built during the Somavaṁśī period also possesses these side structures, but there are evident signs in them that they were later additions, possibly of the Gaṅga period. The temple architecture of the period shows signs of maturity and development in other features also. The so-called corbelled arch is to be found not only in the door-ways of the *Vimānas* of the Gaṅga monuments, but also above each doorway of their porches. Evidently the builders understood its utility more than their predecessors. The iron beams which begun to be used in the preceding period, now came to be used regularly. Because of the increase of projections and their further subdivisions the temple structures became more diversified, solid and compact and very often circular in appearance around the perimeter. Another new feature introduced is the *vāhana-stambha* set up in front of the shrines, which did not exist in any of the earlier temples. The stump of the pillar to be found in front of the Vaitāl temple is, as we have already noted, a remnant of a *yūpa* or a sacrificial post, but not a *vāhana-stambha*. These pillars in many temples have disappeared, but they are still to be

traced in the temples of Koṇārka,[1] Jagannātha, Liṅgarāja, Meghesvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva and Yameśvara, all of which except the Liṅgarāja, belong to the Gaṅga period. Since the *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the Liṅgarāja temple were built during the Gaṅga period, it is legitimate to infer that the *vāhana-stambha*, set up in front of the whole temple, was also an addition of that period. This pillar contains at its top not only an image of Nandī, but also an image of Garuḍa, indicating a synthesis of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism which, as we shall show later on, was attempted in the Gaṅga epoch. Another well-marked characteristic of the Gaṅga monuments is noticed in the basement plinth, conspicuously absent in the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja, the two notable temples of the Somavaṁśī period. Further, in some of the notable monuments, the temple complex rests on a terraced platform, whch may also be recognized as one of the characteristic features of the temples of the Gaṅga period.

Besides these architectural features, the Gaṅga temples also bear several distinctive features in their sculptures. Some of the cult images like Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya appear in their last evolutionary forms. In the Navagraha slabs Rāhu appears as holding half-moons in his hands and Ketu as holding a sword and a shield or only a sword. Sometimes both Bṛihaspati and Śukra appear as the bearded figures. In the monuments built during the middle and last parts of the period, not only the *dikpālas*, but also their female counterparts make their appearance. The Chaitya arches so profusely used as the decorative motifs in the earlier temples, become scarce and highly stylized during the period under review. The decoration of the walls was taken up by scrolls, usually in the form of creepers, with full or half-medallions enclosing leaf-designs and animal-figurines such as deer, boars, elephants, horses and swans. Among other favourite motifs on the temple walls, sunken diamond-shaped designs and beads shown in relief have become most prominent. The minute designs and figurines have been carved and cut in stone with such consummate skill that they create almost an illusion of wood or ivory carvings (Fig. 79). The restraint in the decorations, to be noticed in the Somavaṁśī monuments, is no longer a feature in the Gaṅga temples; on the contrary in the important structures all available spaces in the walls, in the pilasters and the basements, have been occupied by the decora-

[1] The *Vāhana-stambha* of the Konārka temple was removed to Puri during the Mahratta supremacy in Orissa and has now been set up near the eastern gate of the Jagannātha temple. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 404-5.

tions, indicating a love for pictorial art which is found in its extreme form in the great temple of Koṇārka. The large Chaitya arches flanked by human figures continued to be a feature in some monuments, but the Gaṅga builders copied them from the earlier temples without understanding their creed or character. We have seen that in the Mukteśvara where the design occurs for the first time (Fig. 57), the flanking human figures with the hoods of snakes on their heads are distinctly Śaivite in character. In the Gaṅga period their Śaivite character was scarcely understood, as is proved by the fact that this design has also been carved in the Vaiṣṇava temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva.

With the help of these guiding features in art and architecture, it is possible to enumerate the temples which, in all likelihood, were built during the Gaṅga period. A list of the important monuments with a short description of each is given below.

The Megheśvara: As a dated temple it has already been described at some length.

The Bhāskareśvara : It stands about a quarter mile to the west of the Megheśvara. The local people generally make a confusion between these two temples and assign the name of one to the other. The Bhāskareśvara contains a huge Śiva *liṅgam*, nine feet high and twelve feet five inches in circumference, which has characteristically been described in the local sacred texts as *Vṛihalliṅgaṁ* and which, as we shall show later on, is in reality the remnant of an Aśokan pillar. So far as the shape of the *Śikhara* is concerned, it is the only one of its type in Orissa and the avowed purpose of its builder has been to shape it like a pagoda and to provide a permanent stone model for the wooden pagoda (*ratha*) which is annually used in the car festival of the place. It is a plain temple, but the images in the side niches and a few Chaitya arches carved on the body of the structure indicate that it was most likely built in the Gaṅga period. The present structure stands on the site of an earlier temple and there are distinct indications of the earlier materials having been used in it.

The Ananta-Vāsudeva: As a dated temple it has already been described at some length.

The Yameśvara: It is a fairly large-sized temple situated on the left side of the road to the Khaṇḍagiri. It bears all the peculiarities of a Gaṅga monument. It stands on a high plinth and had side structures in front of the niches containing the side deities. It shows advanced architectural features in being *sapta-ratha* in plan, in having corbelled

arches and iron beams and seven pilasters. It had a *vāhana-stambha* which stood in the intervening space between the *Jagamohana* and *Nāṭamandira*, of which only a stump remains at present. Of the *Nāṭamandira* nothing remains now except the plinth. Its general plan seems to have followed that of the great temple of Koṇārka where the *Aruṇa Stambha* stood in the intervening space between the *Jagamohana* and the *Nāṭamandira*. In its sculptures it shows the female counterparts of the guardian deities both in the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*, and in the Navagraha slab, Ketu with a sword and a shield and Bṛihaspati with a beard. The scrolls which decorate all available spaces of the pilasters are analogous to those appearing on the Ananta-Vāsudeva. In most cases they consist of creepers with full or half-medallions enclosing leaf designs and animal figurines, such as elephants, boars and deer. As has already been said, the present temple of Yameśvara occupies an earlier shrine. There are two more *liṅgams* inside its compound, which are found fixed to a level much lower than that of the present temple. In the south-east corner of its compound, the corner portion of an earlier temple is still to be noticed (Fig. 29) in the midst of the ruins of a laterite structure, which was most likely being used as the kitchen of the present temple.

The Mitreśvara and the Varuṇeśvara: These two groups of temples are situated to the east of the Yameśvara. A few surviving sculptures on them and their general architectural style enable us to place them in the Gaṅga period. Each of these groups has a spacious tank to the south of their compounds. The tank to the south of the Varuṇeśvara compound is known as Pāpanāśinī which has been highly extolled in the orthodox texts; but at present it is full of weeds and is being gradually silted up.

The Chitreśvara: It is otherwise known as Chitrakāriṇī and is situated to the north of the Liṅgarāja within close distance. Like the Brahmeśvara, it has four smaller temples in the four corners of the compound. The main temple was one of the most beautifully decorated monuments of the period, but on account of a bad type of stone used in it, it has suffered from immense damages. It is a *sapta-ratha* temple and has the guardian deities along with their female counterparts on the *Vimāna*. Both in the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* the erotic figures are found in large numbers. The pilasters of the *Vimāna* have been profusely decorated with the various designs peculiar to the Gaṅga art. Just above the northern window of the *Jagamohana*, there is a panel depicting the scene of *Godhanaharaṇa* as given in the

Harivaṁśa and in the corresponding position on the southern side the scene of Śiva's marriage has been represented.

The Śārī Deul: It is situated just behind the Jagannātha Ballabha Maṭha on the southern side of the Vindusarovara. The temple both in dimensions and workmanship, is in no way inferior to that of Ananta-Vāsudeva, but with houses, surrounding it on all sides, it is now relegated to an obscure corner. It is a typical example of a *sapta-ratha* temple and its art and architecture provide ample evidence to indicate that it belonged to the Gaṅga Period. The pilasters have been overcrowded with numerous scrolls containing the favourite designs of the Gaṅga art. The guardian deities appear with their female counterparts both on the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*. In the Navagraha slab we find both Bṛihaspati and Śukra as bearded figures. Like the Chitreśvara it also contains a number of erotic figures, one of which gives an indication that the temple was a close contemporary of the great Sun temple at Koṇārka. It represents a nude female figure standing with her legs wide apart over a phallus below, a motif that frequently occurs in the temple at Koṇārka, but is not seen among the erotic sculptures of other temples except the Chitreśvara. A panel above the window on the southern side of the *Jagamohana* contains an elaborate scene of elephants and their riders, which most likely represents a royal procession.

The temple of Pārvatī inside the Liṅgarāja Compound: It is situated to the north of the main temple of Liṅgarāja and has, like the Ananta-Vāsudeva, a three-chambered frontal complex consisting of the *Jagamohana*, the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. Prof. R. D. Banerji has taken it to be a contemporary of the Liṅgarāja.[1] The differences in the art and architecture of both the temples are, however, so obvious that they cannot possibly be taken to have belonged to one and the same period. The temple of Pārvatī stands on a high plinth, but that of Liṅgarāja rises abruptly from the ground level. The Pārvatī temple is *sapta-ratha* in plan, while the Liṅgarāja is *pañcha-ratha*. As apparent from the same type of stone and the continuity of the same type of decorations, all the three chambers forming the frontal complex in the Pārvatī were built along with the sanctum, but in the Liṅgarāja, the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* represent later additions. The sculptures, particularly the scrolls in the Pārvatī temple, are typical of the Gaṅga epoch, and when they are compared with those of the Ananta-Vāsudeva, the Chitreśvara, the Śārī Deul

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 363.

and the Yameśvara, most of them are found not only similar but also almost identical. The overcrowding of too many decorative designs in all available spaces of the walls is a characteristic of the art in the Pārvatī temple, which is not to be noticed in the great Liṅgarāja. The art of the Liṅgarāja is noted for a bold execution of the decorative designs and their judicious spacing, while that of the Pārvatī is remarkable for the minute decorations, chiselled with great precision, resembling the carvings on the ivory or woodwork which, on account of their exuberant details, seem to lack a sense of space (Figs. 79-80). These are the obvious differences between the art and architecture of the two temples and so, the temple of Pārvatī with all evident characteristics of the Gaṅga monuments can be placed in the Gaṅga epoch, probably a near contemporary of the Ananta-Vāsudeva.

Mention may be made, in this connexion, about the temple of Vakeśvara that stands almost opposite the Yameśvara on the right side of Khaṇḍagiri Road. It is now a deserted structure and in a very decayed state. It is important, however, in having a *nava-ratha* plan, which is a further advance on the *sapta-ratha* plan of the monuments of this epoch. Apart from this and also the fact that it consists only of the sanctum and the *Jagamohana*, the temple exhibits the principal characteristics of the Gaṅga monuments and may, on legitimate grounds, be placed in this epoch, possibly during the later days, as the elaboration of the ground plan would seem to indicate. As the only example of a *nava-ratha* temple at Bhubaneswar, it represents a further development in the temple design and deserves proper care and conservation.

Besides the temples mentioned above, the Gaṅga period also witnessed the erection of a large number of smaller temples. In the compound of the Liṅgarāja alone there are about a dozen temples which bear some of the Gaṅga characteristics. Two other groups of temples, the Someśvara and the Gosaharseśvara seem to have been erected during this epoch. The temple of Bhavānī-Śaṅkara and several unnamed ones to be found in the close vicinity of the Śārī Deul, in the compound of the Charitable Dispensary at Bhubaneswar, on the right side of the road to the Khaṇḍagiri, in the open field behind the Doodwalla Dharamsala, in the paddy-field to the east of the town and along the bank of the river Gangua, may also be included in the list of the Gaṅga monuments. Some half-ruined temples standing at the foot of the Dhauligiri also bear the Gaṅga characteristics. The

surviving examples of this period are therefore the largest among the Bhubaneswar temples.

The Pāpanāśinī (a.d. 1449) and the Kapileśvara

After the Gaṅgas, the glorious period of temple-building activities in Orissa was over, but the spirit lingered on during the succeeding period of Sūryavaṁśī supremacy which also witnessed the erection of some notable temples in Orissa. We have seen that the half-ruined porch standing near the Pāpanāśinī tank still bears an inscription referring itself to the reign of Kapileśvara (a.d. 1435-1467), which proves beyond doubt that the structure belonged to his reign. It, however, does not contain enough evidence to enable us to form a clear idea about the peculiarities of art and architecture of the period. It seems that the dynastic change did not result in any great change in architectural style, but in sculpture a definite set-back is to be perceived. The decorative female figures which adorn the half-ruined porch, merely represent the crude imitations of their earlier prototypes. Here and there the sculptor's art has however risen above the ordinary standard and has created some fine specimens. The inscribed slab that contains the elephant procession and an image of Naṭarāja carved on the northern wall of the structure, represent, no doubt, fine specimens of art of this period (Figs. 82, 121).

The only other notable temple that seems to have belonged to this period is that of Kapileśvara, situated on the bank of the Gangua about a mile to the south of the Liṅgarāja. The remains of an earlier temple (Fig. 10) still to be found there prove that the present temple occupies the site of an earlier monument. The shrine as well as the adjacent tank find frequent mention also in the orthodox literature. Like the important Gaṅga temples, it has a three-chambered frontal complex, but the late date of the temple is more evident from its cult images. Mention should particularly be made of the image of Kārttikeya (Fig. 101) which is shown with *ḍambaru* and trident, attributes which are unknown even in the images of the latest temple of the Gaṅga Period. The Naṭarāja figure in the Kapileśvara is dancing on the back of the bull, a motif that we find in the Pāpanāśinī porch. The sculptures are analogous to those of the Pāpanāśinī in general style and it is possible hence that the Kapileśvara, as we see it now, belongs to the same epoch.

The temple of Kapileśvara appears to be the last notable monument to be built at Bhubaneswar. After the fall of the Sūrya-Vaṁśī dynasty

art and architecture languished on account of the lack of royal patronage. However, repairing or remodelling old temples through private enterprise continued to be a regular process at Bhubaneswar and there are evidences to show that such a process was at work even in the recent past. The beautiful temple of Gaurī situated in the compound of the Kedāreśvara has undergone thorough remodelling and resculpturing in recent times as is evident from a comparison of its old photograph published in M. M. Ganguly's *Orissa and Her Remains*, with the present structure. Mr Ganguly refers to the images of Saptarṣis (seven ascetics) as lying under a tree in the compound of the Mukteśvara,[1] but these images have now been fixed to the compound wall of the Kedāreśvara temple. This fact indicates that the compound wall was erected after 1916, when Mr M. M. Ganguly wrote his work. These images no doubt represent the famous teachers and their female counterparts of the Pāśupata sect but in the absence of any inscribed label, it is difficult to identify them.

Some miniature structures have also sprung up in recent times on the sites of ancient shrines. The notable examples are those to be found on the banks of the Vindusarovara, at Vāruṇīśvara on the bank of the Gangua, and at Kukkuṭeśvara in the capital area. Besides, a number of religious bodies have of late built some temples and *maṭhas* at Bhubaneswar. Notable among them are the temples of the Rāmakṛishṇa Mission, Tridaṇḍī Gauḍiya Maṭha, Kaṭhiā Maṭha and Sunār Gaurāṅga, but it is to be noted that none of these new structures has followed the traditional temple architecture of the place. A few surviving sculptors also still carry on the art of stone carving and image making. Finding stone carving to be an unprofitable business, many of them have turned to carpentry and are now capable of producing some fine specimens of woodwork. Their art is particularly exhibited in the wooden pagoda which is made during the festival of Aśokāṣṭamī falling in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April). The traditions of art and architecture in Bhubaneswar, which go back to the hoary antiquity of the pre-Christian era, have thus somehow survived through the strange vicissitudes of time.

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 287-8.

X

A SHORT POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BHUBANESWAR

GENERALLY a chapter on history is prefixed to a work dealing with archaeological monuments, but here we have reversed the process for certain reasons. A brief account of the main political periods of Orissan history has been given in the first chapter of this work and the facts embodied in it have been based on the results of researches conducted by various scholars at different times. But since the history of Bhubaneswar as such has not been attempted by any scholar and the established facts relating to it have so far been meagre, we have up to now desisted from attempting a narrative of its history. Some facts have, however, emerged from our study of the monuments in the preceding chapters, which, together with some other materials not yet dealt with, now enable us to make such an attempt. The facts for the political history of the place are not many, but its numerous monuments provide us with ample materials to reconstruct a continuous cultural history.

We have already seen that Bhubaneswar as a cultural centre included an area much wider than the one occupied by the present temple town. The *Svarṇṇādri-Mahodaya*, an orthodox text, serving the purpose of the pilgrims' guide book, defines Bhubaneswar as lying between Khaṇḍāchala (Khaṇḍagiri) and the temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara situated on the top of Dhauligiri. The entire area lying between these two prominent landmarks constituted the extent of the sacred town, and we have already seen that the remains of the earliest habitations and monuments are to be found, not in the present temple town proper, but in its precincts. A speciality of the culture that grew up here lies in its remarkable continuity and the tenacity with which it survived through various vicissitudes. Cultural and religious centres have sprung up elsewhere, but they have vanished within a few

centuries of their existence or have now severed their links with the past. The temple towns like Aihole, Mahāvalīpuram and Khājurāho can boast of possessing a number of historical monuments, but they cannot boast of possessing a history as varied and wide as that of Bhubaneswar. Such places of culture as Pāṭaliputra (Patna) and Bārāṇasī (Benaras) can claim to have a long and varied history, but they cannot boast of possessing such a remarkable series of ancient monuments as Bhubaneswar can do. The advantage of Bhubaneswar lies in the fact that it possesses both that carry us back to the dawn of the dated history and bring us down to the last days of Hindu supremacy in India.

The history of this place, like many other places of India, has no doubt been largely conditioned by its physical features. Looking at the physical features of the coastal strip of Orissa, we find that Bhubaneswar is situated to the south-west of the three great rivers, the Baitaraṇī, the Brāhmaṇī and the Mahānadī which, together with their numerous branches, intersect the coastal plain in the Cuttack district. On crossing these rivers, the first important locality to the west of this riverine configuration, is Bhubaneswar and its surrounding area, rocky and with an undulating surface. This area with its vast expanse of waste lands and jungles mostly unfit for cultivation, provides an ideal centre for the growth of habitations and religious monuments. Bhubaneswar proper and its immediate neighbourhood are full of laterite formations occasionally broken up by hillocks of sandstone, the former providing excellent material for secular buildings and the latter, for religious monuments. Besides, the place has a bracing climate and some perennial springs possessing curative properties. These factors must have contributed to the growth of a religious and cultural centre at this ideal place.

Bhubaneswar during the Age of Aśoka

But natural factors, however favourable, can by themselves never create a place of culture unless they are utilized by human efforts. It is not known when and how such human efforts were first at work to give a start to this centre of civilization. In the days of Aśoka it must have developed into an important locality, or else he would not have chosen this area for the promulgation of his rock edicts, including the two special Kalinga edicts, and, as we shall see later on, for setting up a pillar also. It also seems most likely that the city of Toṣali, the headquarters of an important administrative unit, was situated

in the neighbourhood of Dhauligiri. The hillock itself with its low-lying mounds in the immediate neighbourhood does not, however, reveal extensive ruins which can possibly be identified with the remains of such a city and the attempt of Dr P. C. Bagchi[1] to identify Tosali of Aśoka's Kaliṅga edicts with Dhauli seems to be untenable. Extensive ruins representing an ancient city are, however, to be found at a place known as Śiśupālagarh about a mile to the east of Bhubaneswar and about 3 miles from the Dhauli hill. The site was excavated by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, in collaboration with the Orissa Government, in the years 1947-48 and 1948-49, but the operations have not yet yielded any definite and tangible proof for the identification of the site with the city of Toṣali. However, certain facts so far known, raise a strong presumption in favour of its identification with that ancient city.

The ruins of Siśupālagarh represent a well-planned and well-fortified city, square in shape, each side measuring three-quarters of a mile and each having two elaborately constructed gates and some small exits. The rampart walls even in their ruined condition present an imposing sight and enclose an extensive area. A natural stream, known as Gandhavatī in the local sacred literature and now as Gaṅguā, served as its natural moat on the western and northern sides. The excavations at Śiśupālagarh have also unearthed some relics which take the origin of the city back to the fourth or third century B.C.[2] The fact that it existed during the reign of Aśoka goes a long way in favour of its identification with Toṣali of the Dhauli inscription. Aśoka's inscriptions at Dhauli and at Jaugaḍā, in the Ganjam district, make it clear that his newly conquered territory of Kaliṅga was divided into two parts, northern and southern, with headquarters respectively at Toṣali and at Samāpā, and the special edicts contained in them were meant for the officers of these towns who, according to the command of the emperor in the first of these edicts, were frequently to listen to them. The natural presumption hence is that these two towns were situated in the neighbourhood of the inscriptions themselves, so that the officers concerned might always bear in mind the imperial rescript. Śiśupālagarh being only about two miles from Dhauli in a straight line, its identification with Toṣāli is thus more than a probability. While the second of the two special Kaliṅga edicts at Jaugaḍā is addressed only to the *Mahāmātras* of Samāpā,

[1] *Dravidian and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 177-8.
[2] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 72.

the same at Dhauli is addressed both to the *Mahāmātras* and the royal prince (Governor or Viceroy) of Toṣali. Apparently Toṣali was the more important of the two and represented the provincial headquarters of Kaliṅga governed by a royal prince. The imposing arrangement of the site of Śiśupālagarh and its fortification leave no doubt about its having once been an important establishment, not quite unfit as a viceregal headquarters, and its nearness to the site of the imperial edicts lends an additional support to its identification with the city of Toṣali of the Aśokan days.

Toṣali was not only the name of a city, but also the name of a territory. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha*,[1] a part of the *Avataṁśaka*, the hero of the work, Sudhana, is being instructed by *Upāsikā* Achalasthirā as follows:

"Now young man, go on your way; in this Dekhan where we are, there is a country Amita Tosala; in that country there is a city called Toṣala; there dwells a wandering monk of the name of Sarvagāmin."[2]

It is thus clear that the name Toṣala which apparently stands for Toṣali of Aśoka's inscription, was being applied to both a territory and a city. Inscriptions also mention Toṣali as a territory and divide it into two portions, northern and southern. Toṣala, Toṣali and Toṣāli were identical. It is difficult to say whether the Toṣali territory was divided into two parts during the reign of Aśoka, but in the sixth century A.D. and after, it was divided into two parts, northern and southern, as is evident from the mention of Uttar-Toṣāli and Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli respectively in the Soro[3] and Patiākellā[4] grants of Śambhuyaśas. Such divisions also find mention in the copper-plate grants of the Bhaumakara rulers.[5] The Soro copper-plate B[6] further mentions that Seraphā identified with Soro in the Balasore district, was situated in Uttar-Toṣali which comprised the Oḍra *viṣaya*. It is possible, as is presumed from Aśoka's rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍā, that in Aśoka's time Kaliṅga was divided into two parts, northern and southern, and probably this division roughly corresponded to the division of Tosali into northern and southern parts in later days.

[1] It is of interest to refer to the fact that the text of this work was presented in A.D. 795 to the Chinese Emperor Te-Tsong by King Subhākaradeva of Orissa.
[2] Quoted in P. C. Bagchi's *Dravidian and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 177-8.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 201.
[4] Ibid. Vol. IX, p. 285.
[5] Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 140-2.
[6] Ibid. Vol. XXIII, p. 202.

Unfortunately, the excavations of Śiśupālagarh which push back the history of Bhubaneswar prior to the reign of Aśoka, do not throw any new light on the political history of Orissa. The antiquities recovered do not even enable us to identify the city. The excavations have, however, revealed the nature of the fortifications of the city and have determined the duration of its life. According to the chronology fixed by Mr B. B. Lal, the Superintendent in charge of the excavation, "The initial date of the site goes back to about 300 B.C. with a margin, if any, on the earlier side. The uppermost limit of the site is determined by the presence of the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins (of copper) in the latest levels of the site" and since these coins are generally assigned to the middle of the fourth century A.D., "that date, derivatively, represents the upper limit for the site."[1] The major portion of the city's life thus coincides with the dark period of Orissan history with a few spotlights on the earlier part. The fact that it existed during the reign of Aśoka enables us to conclude that it might have played some part in the great Kaliṅga War which proved to be such a turning point in the career of Aśoka and also of the history of Buddhism. It is most likely that Śiśupālagarh, whether it was known as Toṣali or by any other name, was occupied by the victor in the Kaliṅga War, who turned it into the headquarters of his newly conquered country. An Aśokan pillar set up in the close neighbourhood of the northern wall of the city, of which we shall speak later on, proves his close connexion with the place. Barring some pottery specimens, no other relic that can specifically be assigned to the Mauryan period has however been unearthed by the excavations. But the non-discovery of any other Mauryan relics does not preclude the possibility of its having been occupied by Aśoka. The excavations, it should be emphasized, were conducted merely in the nature of soundings and deep digging was concentrated within the area of a few square feet.

So far as the early history of Bhubaneswar is concerned, the excavations of Śiśupālagarh do not thus advance our knowledge very much. To reconstruct the early history of the place, we have therefore to fall back upon the old material already known to the scholars and a few more of our own recently discovered.

The earliest glimpse into the history of the place and of Orissa is obtained from the inscription of Aśoka at Dhauli. It is a copy of the well-known Fourteen Rock edicts found at Kalsi, Manserah, Sahbazgarhi, Girṇar and other places, but the two special edicts which

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 72.

are found incorporated in Aśoka'a inscriptions at Dhauli and at Jaugaḍā in the Ganjam district, were specifically meant for the people of Kaliṅga. Of the usual fourteen edicts, No. 12 and 13 have been omitted from these versions to make room for the special ones and there is no description of the Kaliṅga War in them, given in Edict No. 13 of the other copies. Obviously Aśoka did not think it prudent to remind the people of Kaliṅga of the horrors of the Kaliṅga War. The language used in the special edicts is of an extremely conciliatory nature. This is what is to be expected from a great and noble victor who, partly due to his prudence and statesmanship and partly to a change of his conception about real victory, wanted to pacify the people of a newly conquered country. These special edicts indicate his intense solicitude for the welfare of the Kaliṅga people. They further indicate that Aśoka did not bring the whole region, now comprised in the modern state of Orissa, under his direct control, for, in his Second Kaliṅga edict he speaks of the unconquered borderers who in the context of the reference can be taken to be the people of the small principalities lying in the vast stretch of forests and hills that form the major portion of modern Orissa. Even in more recent times, during the Moghul and British periods, the task of bringing them under direct control was considered to be difficult and therefore they were left with their internal sovereignty. In Aśoka's time such a task would have been considered much more difficult. By "unconquered borderers" Aśoka meant, very probably, the people of the hilly tracts contiguous to the coastal strip and not any other territory situated far away from Kaliṅga.

The brunt of Aśoka's invasion and subsequent proselytization must have been borne by the coastal strip and more so by the places of importance in that region. That Bhubaneswar and the surrounding area represented one such place is evident from the inscriptions at Dhauli and from the ruins of Śiśupālagarh, both included in the sacred city according to the traditional evidence. From the above evidence it is also apparent that Bhubaneswar formed the centre of his missionary activities, though we have no evidence to show the nature of the devastations that it sustained during the Kaliṅga War. In his Thirteenth Rock edict Aśoka tells us that the Kaliṅga War resulted in one hundred thousand people killed, one lakh and fifty thousand carried away as captives, many more that number dying of starvation and disease. This description presents an overall picture of the devastation and the loss of life from which Bhubaneswar could not

have been possibly immune. It is difficult to determine as to how much of its culture, if it had any at that period, survived after this great cataclysm, but certain sculptural and architectural remains of the Aśokan age, still to be found in this area, give us a glimpse into its cultural history.

The earliest specimen of sculptural art in Kaliṅga is the colossal figure of the forepart of an elephant carved at the top of the boulder containing Aśoka's rock edicts at Dhauli. This elephant figure is certainly contemporary to the inscription and reference may be made to an incised figure of an elephant with a label in Aśokan Brāhmī which appears along with the Aśokan edicts at Kālsi (Dehra Dun). Hence it was not unusual at that time to represent an elephant, the sacred symbol of the Buddhists, along with the edicts of Aśoka. The elephant figure at Dhauli lacks, however, the characteristics usually found in the Aśokan sculptures. The lustrous polish, characteristically described as Mauryan, is completely absent. The absence of this lustrous polish, may with reason, be attributed to the inferior type of sandstone utilized for its carving. It is significant to note that the surface of the rock bearing the edicts, also does not show this polish. Moreover, naturalism as evidenced in the anatomical treatment of the figure corresponds to that noticed in other animal capitals of Aśoka'a pillars. A significant parallel may be recognized in the Bull capital of the Rāmpurwā pillar. In modelling and anatomical treatment, these two figures, one at Rāmapurwā and the other at Dhauli, are nearer to the indigenous ideal of subdued naturalism, in contrast to the realistic treatment of the Lion Capital at Sarnath. The latter appears to have been the production of an artist reared in the tradition of the court. The Rāmpurwā or the Dhauli figure, however, appears to be the work of the local artists who were upholders of the indigenous tradition.

There is also another animal figure which may be assigned to the reign of Aśoka. It is the upper part of a lion capital recently discovered at Bhubaneswar. In order to show that it belonged to the reign of Aśoka, it is necessary here to relate briefly the circumstances that led to its discovery.

Although Aśoka's rock edicts have been found at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugaḍā in the Ganjam district, the existence of an Aśokan pillar within the limits of ancient Kaliṅga had not yet been traced. Dr Rajendralal Mitra had suggested in 1880 that the colossal *liṅgam*, now enshrined in the temple of Bhāskareśvara at Bhubaneswar

was the remnant of an Aśokan pillar.[1] But since his suggestion was a categorical one and based on no tangible evidence, most of the later scholars writing upon the monuments of Bhubaneswar took no notice of it and some scholars like Messrs M. M. Ganguly,[2] N. K. Bose[3] and K. N. Mahapatra[4] who discussed this suggestion, distinctly refuted it.

Notwithstanding the adverse views of these scholars, the present writer subjected the colossal *liṅgam* of the Bhāskareśvara temple to close examination, and most of its characteristics appeared to him as unusual for a *liṅgam*, and some inexplicable. Its dismensions, which are nine feet in height, twelve feet and five inches in circumference at its base, are unusual for an ordinary *liṅgam* and it has a *yoni-pīṭha* with an outer circumference of about 20 feet. Like other *liṅgams* it is not smooth on the surface; on the contrary the original smoothness has been destroyed by deliberate chiselling. It is not rounded at the top, but has a tapering projection suggesting the broken remnant of a monolithic pillar. Its *yoni-pīṭha*, instead of being made of a single block of stone as is the case with all others, is made up of four pieces joined together. This device indicates that the *liṅgam* was *in situ* and the *yoni-pīṭha* had been fitted to it later on. These peculiarities of unusual character led to further scrutiny which revealed traces of some Aśokan Brāhmī letters on a vertical portion of the *liṅgam* where chiselling seems to have been less heavy. It is true that the traces giving the complete forms of Brāhmī letters are only a few, but their paucity is explicable, as after chiselling, only abnormally deep-cut letters were likely to leave cognizable traces. That these were not chisel marks apٍpears definite, as it cannot be held that chiselling at random can ever produce letter forms of Aśokan

[1] *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 89. Dr. B. M. Barua also makes a similar assumption that "The stump of Aśoka's monolith which is being worshipped as a phallic emblem in the Bhāskareśvara temple of Bhubaneswar, may still bear a copy of M.R.E." *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Part II, p. 3. Neither Dr. Mitra nor Dr. Barua has adduced any evidence to prove that the *liṅgam* in the Bhāskareśvara temple was originally an Aśoka pillar. Their's was merely an assumption which remained to be proved.

[2] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 324.

[3] *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XV., p. 260.

With regard to the colossal *liṅgam*, Mr. Bose observes: "It was held by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra that the *liṅgam* of Bhāskareśvara was really an Aśokan pillar. The column is made of fine-grained sandstone and does not bear the slightest trace of the Mauryan polish on its surface. That practically rules out the possibility of an Aśokan origin." Mr. Bose does not take into consideration the fact that no polish, Mauryan or otherwise, is likely to survive after the heavy chiselling of which the *liṅgam* bears the distinct marks all over its body. He also does not consider the fact that the elephant figure at Dhauli, though of distinctly Aśokan origin, does not bear the slightest trace of Mauryan polish.

[4] *The Vaitaraṇī*, Vol. X, pp. 52-9.

Brāhmī of such usual dimensions. The attention of the archaeologists then working in the Śiśupālagarh excavation, was therefore drawn to these traces, and they agreed with me that the *liṅgam* was of unusual character and that the deliberate chisellings all over its body were inexplicable.

Searches for further evidences were therefore conducted in the close vicinity of the temple which resulted in the discovery of a railing pillar half-buried in earth about 375 feet to the north of the northern door of the temple. This pillar has four sides of which the broader two have lenticular sockets that evidently received the cross-bars (*sūchīs*) from both sides and the narrower two have each a decorative female figure (Fig. 3). At the top there is a small projection which was fitted into the socket of the coping stone (*uṣṇiṣa*). This discovery marked a step forward, because a railing fence, of which the pillar was undoubtedly a part, is usually associated with a *stūpa* generally found by the side of an Aśokan pillar. It therefore gave an incentive for a further search to complete and correlate the series of evidences so far achieved.

Fortunately, only about 40 feet from the northern door the top portion of a figure, very much weather-beaten, but sharply distinguished in colour and fabric from the stones used in the temple, was found buried and this, when dug out, proved to be the upper portion of a colossal lion (Fig. 1). The manes on the left side of this lion figure has been partially chiselled smooth for two lines of inscription in characters of the fifth century A.D. One line is perfectly preserved and reads as *Śrī Siṁha-bandha.*[1] The fragmentary figure measures three feet seven inches in height and eight feet seven inches in circumference in its broadest part. It is now in the Orissa State Museum and has been examined by a number of eminent archaeologists who have no doubt about its belonging to a much earlier period than the date of the earliest temple extant at Bhubaneswar. The colossal *liṅgam* in the Bhāskareśvara temple and this fragmentary lion figure discovered within the close precincts of the temple are both found to have been made in the same kind of sandstone. The identity of stone fabrics of these objects and the difference from the stone used in the temple itself, connects the two and suggests the possibility of their belonging to one and the same monument. A lion figure usually serves as a capital of an Aśokan pillar, as we see in a number of instances. The *liṅgam* within the temple was, in all probability, one

[1] *JAS.* Vol. XVII, 1951, p. 115., Plate XII.

such pillar, as already observed, and the suggestion is legitimate that this fragmentary lion figure represents the remains of the capital of the Aśokan pillar, the remnant of which is now found converted into the colossal *liṅgam* of the Bhāskareśvara. The lion figure is now much weather-beaten but the pose as indicated by the remaining front portion, is suggestive of an Aśokan lion capital. The difference in the treatment of the manes, noticed in this particular figure might have been due to local convention.

A suggestion might be made that the lion figure might have formed part of an early Brahmanical temple that existed on this site. As a type this figure stands by itself and is clearly distinguished from the numerous stone figures of lions forming parts of temples. The inscription that it now bears clearly proves that it was certainly carved before the fifth century A.D. No temple of this period is extant now at Bhubaneswar. Even if there had been any of this early period, it must have been, like all early temples, a small and an unpretentious one and hence incapable of accommodating a figure of such huge dimensions in any of its parts. Moreover, it should be emphasized that such lion figures are conspicuous by their absence in any of the early temples, now extant, and such a feature in a still earlier temple may be regarded as an impossibility.

The cumulative evidence of the above discussion points to the colossal *liṅgam* of the Bhāskareśvara as having originally been an Aśokan pillar and the lion figure discovered in the close vicinity, as the remnant of its capital. In course of digging, the lion figure was found to have been laid in a pit with four stone slabs on the four sides to keep it in position. This fact indicates that its burial was deliberate and not accidental. The date of the inscription on the manes indicates the period when the lion might have been buried in this way. Apart from this deliberate burial, signs of distinct vandalism are clear on the figure itself. There are chisel holes on the left side, which indicate that there was a deliberate attempt to break it into pieces. The indigenous process of breaking a stone into pieces is to bore holes in a line and then to hammer on the tops of the chisels fitted into these holes. The lower portion was apparently destroyed thereby and the chisel holes, still existing in the upper portion, indicate that there was a further attempt to break this portion also. The destruction of the inscription on the pillar, its conversion into a Śiva *liṅgaṁ* and the attempt to destroy the lion capital totally, supply clear proofs of vandalism wrought on a Buddhist monument by the Śaivas.

There is yet another piece of sculpture at Bhubaneswar which can be connected with an Aśokan pillar. It is a portion of the capital consisting of the abacus, the torus and the so-called bell (Fig. 7). The height of the fragment is 32 inches and its circumference near the upper bulge is about nineteen feet five inches. It is now lying in a tank known as Aśoka Jhara just behind the Rāmeśvara temple, situated half-way between the Railway station and the Liṅgarāja temple, and has already come to the notice of several scholars. But many of them have concluded that it is in no way connected with the Śiva *liṅgam* of the Bhāskareśvara temple. Mr. N. K. Bose thinks that the stones of the *liṅgam* and the bell capital respectively are of different type and as such they can have no connection with each other.[1] The present writer was at first inclined to accept his view, but after repeated examinations of the *liṅgam*, the fragmentary bell capital and the lion figure, he has now come to the conclusion that all of them are of the same type of stone. The bell capital having been exposed to the actions of weather for centuries, has become blackish with more prominent grit on its surface. The same colour and the same grit are also to be found on the top portion of the lion which was likewise exposed to the actions of the element.. The present writer has now no doubt that even a chemical examination will prove that all these three objects are of the same type of stone. It is to be noted here that, although the edges of the abacus of the capital have partly broken off, its upper circular portion shows no sign of breakage, which indicates that the animal sculpture surmounting it, was made of a separate block of stone. Only the two sides of the circular portion are raised up as rims to keep the animal sculpture in position.

The bell capital, although a close parallel of other Aśokan bell capitals, presents certain divergences with the other specimens. This led Dr A. K. Mitra to conclude that it was not an Aśokan capital. Its difference from other Mauryan capitals as noticed by him, may be summarized as follows.[2]

It does not bear the slightest trace of Mauryan polish. The animal sculpture and the bell capital were not carved out of a single block of stone. Below the so-called bell there is a frieze of sculptures, which no other Aśokan capital possesses in the same position. The arrises resembling the pointed ends of leaves occur in between the petals of the so-called bell which is in reality a full-blown inverted lotus. The

[1] *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XV, p. 261.
[2] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, No. V. pp. 693-9.

torus moulding between the so-called bell and the abacus varies in decoration from the rope pattern appearing in the same place in other Aśokan capitals.

To these points of difference noticed by Dr Mitra, we may add another. The decorative figures of the frieze of this capital not only occupy a different position, but also differ from those to be found in other Aśokan capitals. A greater part of the frieze has broken off, but nevertheless, what remains shows from left to right (*a*) a goose, (*b*) a full-blown lotus, (*c*) a goose (*d*) a full-blown lotus, (*e*) a winged elephant, (*f*) a full-blown lotus with a bud, (*g*) a winged tiger, (*h*) a lotus bud with a stem and (*i*) a galloping winged horse. The figures are still distinct and they do not present any difficulty in identification. But it is to be noted that except the lotuses and the geese, which are common Aśokan motifs, other figures are entirely novel. The honeysuckle and the palmette which are taken to be foreign motifs,[1] imported during the reign of Aśoka, are conspicuous by their absence.

The above differences are significant no doubt. But the shape and form of the capital and their close similarity with the "bell capital" of an Aśokan pillar are also striking and cannot be overlooked because of the differences in certain details in certain decorative features. The arrises in this particular capital, which Dr Mitra takes to be unique in appearance, may also be found in the capital of the Basarh Bhakira pillar, which, some scholars think, might even be pre-Aśokan in date (Ray, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, p. 26). The decoration on the torus, which consists of a twisted rope pattern intervening with a twisted bead string, is nothing but a combination of the well-known patterns that appear separately on the Aśokan capitals. In spite of the close similarity in shape and form, the Aśokan capitals may be found to exhibit well-marked divergences in details, and the appearance of the frieze of sculptures at the base of the bell, instead of at the top, might be regarded as another divergence in the long series of Aśokan capitals.

At Bhubaneswar, therefore, we find three remnants of art that may presumably go back to the period of Aśoka, viz. the circular shaft now converted into the *liṅgam* of the Bhāskareśvara, the upper portion of the lion discovered in its close vicinity and the fragmentary "bell capital" in the Aśoka Jhara tank. The first two appear to be remnants of the same monument, as we have already shown. The monument was

[1] V. A. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Pl. 10-B.

presumably a pillar set up by Aśoka in his newly conquered province. The "bell capital" in the Aśoka Jhara tank might have represented the remnant of another such pillar set up in the neighbourhood of the Aśoka Jhara tank. None of these remnants, however, bear the usual characteristics of Aśokan sculptures like the brilliant polish or the strong realism in the anatomical treatment. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Dhauli elephant, a subdued naturalism is evident in the lion figure and the manes in their spiral curls are more natural than the stylised treatment of the manes in other Aśokan lion figures. The pose and the treatment of the mouth of the lion figure also resemble those of the Aśokan lions discovered elsewhere. These fragments are all executed in local stone and possibly offered little scope for polish which characterized the other Aśokan sculptures, all in Chunar sandstone of a fine-grained texture.

The natural inference, therefore, is that the monuments of which these remnants once formed parts, were the works of local artists under the direction of imperial officers or artists. It has been generally held that Perso-Hellenic influence was responsible for a vigorous revival of art and architecture in stone during the reign of Aśoka. It will be too much to imagine, however, that no form of stone carving existed in any part of India prior to his reign. We are inclined to think that in ancient Kaliṅga the local artists, even before pre-Mauryan days, had experience in handling stone which has always been an easily available and workable material at Bhubaneswar. Or else it will be difficult to think that they would have ever been in a position to execute them under the imperial direction. The reference in the Hātīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela to a seat of Jina, which had been carried away to Magadha by a Nanda king, and which was brought back to Kaliṅga by Khāravela, also strengthens our conclusion, because it seems most likely that the seat was of stone, or it could not have been preserved for centuries till Khāravela recovered it from Magadha. Conscious of its own strength and culture, Kaliṅga presented a great challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha in the time of Aśoka, and in the reign of Khāravela, this challenge took the shape of aggression. During the reign of Aśoka it must have been at the height of its power, or else it could not have resisted with such vehemence the aggression of the Magadhan empire, which practically included the whole of India and the territories now known as Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Therefore, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the people of

ancient Kaliṅga already had a flourishing culture and were familiar with the art of stone carving.

While on the theme of Aśoka, it is significant to note that his name is still associated with at least one monument now represented by an ancient tank situated just behind the temple of Rāmeśvara. It is known as Aśoka Jhara where the "bell capital" is still lying. Once in a year on the day of Aśokāṣṭamī in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the movable images of the lord Tribhuvaneśvara (Liṅgarāja) and his family members are driven to this place in a chariot with the usual pomp and show. Once in a year again, on the day of *śukla-saptamī* in *Magha* (January-February) the same movable images are taken to the temple of Bhāskareśvara. That these festivals are not of recent origin is proved by the fact that they find mention in such Sanskrit texts, as the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Svarṇṇādri Mahodaya*, which profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox standpoint. From the early medieval period, Tribhuvaneśvara (also known as Kṛittivāsa and Liṅgarāja) came to be the presiding deity of the place. These festive visits of the presiding deity of the place to the Rāmesvara and the Bhāskareśvara are significant. Both these temples as we have already shown, cannot be dated earlier than the twelfth century A.D. We have further shown that both occupy the sites of previous older shrines. In the former the name of the tank and the "bell capital" still lying there are reminiscent of the days of Aśoka and the *liṅgam* of the latter was once a pillar, presumably erected by Aśoka to mark the site of a shrine. The shrines that might have existed at these places in the time of Aśoka were apparently Buddhist, but they were later on converted to Brahmanical ones, the existence of which before the period of the present temples can be inferred from the remains of the earlier structures used in the present ones. These festive visits of Tribhuvaneśvara to these places on special auspicious days might be in the nature of the deity of a later shrine paying homage to the earliest ones. In India, it should be remembered, the earliest places of worship, whatever their character, are held in great veneration and people, irrespective of faiths, visit them.

A few more relics that have been brought to light by the excavations at Śiśupālagarh, can also be ascribed to the age of Aśoka. The earliest levels of Śiśupālagarh revealed no structural remains, but, as the Superintendent of the excavation has observed, "that should not necessarily mean that the buildings in the period were

made of some perishable material like timber."[1] Since deep digging was confined to an area of a few square feet, it was not expected to strike any structural remains in the sub-soil water which contained the earliest relics. It was also not expected to recover any other antiquities from such a small area, except the potteries of which some specimens have been reproduced in the Report on the excavations.[2]

It is to be noted in connexion with them that a few types show a remarkable affinity with similar vessels recovered from the levels assignable to the fourth and third century B.C. of the various sites in northern India.[3] It is to be further noted that the relics of the earliest period of Śiśupālagarh (*c.* 300-200 B.C.) show affinities with their corresponding types of the north, while the same of the later periods, with those of the south. While the potteries of the earliest period are found intermingled with the types recovered from the various ancient sites of the north, the same antiquities of the "Early Middle (*c.* 200 B.C.-100 B.C.) and the Late Middle (A.D. 100-200) Periods" have their exact prototypes in black-and-red and rouletted wares recovered from the excavations at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in Mysore State and at Arikamedu near Pondicherry.[4] In respect of other antiquities recovered from the Śiśupālagarh excavations, the same phenomenon is also noticeable. The layers of the earliest period yielded nothing but pottery and so it is not possible to say whether a northern culture influenced the other material objects of the place in the third century B.C., but the other antiquities of the later periods such as terracotta ornaments and clay bullae both in their prototypes and frequency of occurrence indicate a culture more southern than northern. It is true that some types of terracotta ear-ornaments of Śiśupālagarh are represented in some sculptures of northern India, and the clay bullae are reported to have been found in Rājghat (near Banaras) and Kosam (near Allahabad), but these objects have been recovered in greater profusion from the southern sites.[5] In another respect the ancient site of Śiśupālagarh showed a remarkable homogeneity with other ancient sites of the south. It is the total absence of the terracotta toys which

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 68.
[2] Ibid. p. 81.
[3] Cf. Śiśupālagarh type 11 (*Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 81), Ahichchatra type 10a and 10b (Ibid. No. 1, pp. 37-55) and Rairh type 5 (K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. VIII, 5).
[4] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 71.
[5] Ibid. pp. 89-102.

form the major part of the excavator's finds in the sites of northern India.

From the data provided by the Śiśupālagarh excavations it may be reasonable to conclude that in the earliest part of its life, the city had intimate contacts with a northern culture while in the subsequent period its culture had more affinities with the south. The excavations at Dhauli of which no report is yet available, also confirms this conclusion. A trench laid in the close vicinity of the Aśokan inscription there exposed a thick wall, apparently belonging to the period of the inscription, made of rubble and mud-mortar, similar to the walls of New Rājagṛiha at Rajgir. The trench also yielded a terracotta snake and a multi-spouted vessel of which the prototypes had been recovered from the excavations of the Maniar Maṭh at Rajgir.[1]

Bhubaneswar during the Age of Khāravela

The next landmark in the history of Orissa, and of Bhubaneswar is provided by the monuments of the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills, situated about 5 miles to the west of the place, particularly by the famous inscription of Khāravela engraved in one of the caves there. The date of Khāravela, however, is highly controversial and as we have already said, some scholars place him in the second century B.C., some in the first century B.C. and others drag him down to the second quarter of the first century A.D.[2] So, our attempts to fix up the chronology of the monuments of these hills or to trace the subsequent development of the art and architecture of the place will all depend upon the determination of Khāravela's date with a fair measure of accuracy. We are, therefore, unavoidably required to take up this problem. So much, however, has been said about the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela and its age that the present work can hardly propose to launch upon a full discussion. Nevertheless, an attempt is being made here to discuss the main points of the date of Khāravela and to put his reign and the monuments of these two hills within a chronological framework.

The Hātigumphā inscription having been badly damaged, we should, in the first instance, pick out such references in the epigraph as are likely to provide us with clues regarding the age of Khāravela; but in doing so we shall confine our observations to the readings in

[1] *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, Plates XVI (d), and (e) and XVII (c).
[2] B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 68 ff.

which there is substantial agreement among the later scholars who, profiting by the mistakes of the earlier epigraphists, have finally deciphered it. These references are as follows[1] :

1. In the third line there is a reference to a Sātakarṇī (*Dutiya ca vase acitayita Sātakarṇim*), whom "not bringing into (his) thought" Khāravela is said to have "caused a multitudinous troop of horses, elephants, footmen and chariots to move on to the western quarter."[2]

2. The thirteenth line refers to Bahasatimita, pointedly spoken of as the king of Magadha (*Māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitom*), whom Khāravela is said to have compelled to bow at his feet. In the same line Khāravela is credited with having "caused the honoured seat of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga, which was taken away by king Nanda, to be brought back from Aṅga and Magadha to Kaliṅga."

3. In line 6, the epigraph refers to a canal that was "opened out by king Nanda, a hundred and three years back (*ti-vasa-sata*)" and which was caused to be brought into his capital from the Tanasuli road by king Khāravela.

Since there is substantial agreement about the reading of Sātakarṇi, Bahasatimita and Naṇḍarāja, the correct identification of any one of them will go a long way in fixing the date of Khāravela. To us Dr B. M. Barua's identification of Nandarāja of the epigraph with Aśoka[3] seems to be most probable, although we do not agree with any of his other conclusions made on the basis of this identification. There is more than one reason why Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription should be identified with Aśoka. In the first place, as Dr Barua has observed, "it is almost conclusive from the statements of Aśoka's R.E. XIII that Aśoka was the first among the Indian kings reigning, after Buddha's demise, to conquer the theretofore unconquered land of the Kaliṅgas (*avijitaṃ vijinituṃ*) and annex the same to his own kingdom."[4] Secondly, among the known Indian kings of the pre-Christian era the Maurya emperors were known to have undertaken the construction of large irrigation works. Pushyagupta, Chandragupta's governor in the western provinces, began a large irrigation work at Girinagara (Girnar) in Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), and it was Aśoka who completed it under the superintendence

[1] Ibid. pp. 7-30. We have adopted here the reading and translation of Dr. B. M. Barua. His numbering of the lines of the epigraph has also been adopted.
[2] Ibid. pp. 40-7.
[3] Ibid. p. 281.
[4] Ibid. p. 279.

of his viceroy Tushaspha.[1] The name Tushaspha indicates that he was a foreigner, possibly a Persian, and it seems most likely that Aśoka undertook the construction of several irrigation works under the superintendence of the skilled engineers imported from other countries of Asia. If he could undertake a vast irrigation project in a distant western province of his empire, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that he would have constructed a canal in Kaliṅga, a newly conquered province, for which he has shown special solicitude in his separate Kaliṅga edicts. There is no evidence to show that the Nanda kings, of whom Mahāpadma Nanda was the most prominent, ever undertook the construction of irrigation works for the benefit of their subjects; on the other hand, we have it on the authority of the Purāṇas and the Greek sources that they were greedy, oppressive and most unpopular among their subjects. Aśoka would thus appear to be the Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription, who had constructed a canal in Kaliṅga and who had taken away the honoured seat of Jina from the same country as a war trophy that was recovered by Khāravela. If this identification is considered sound the epithet Nandarāja applied to Aśoka need not frighten us, because there is no evidence yet discovered, which can prove that during the age of Khāravela, Aśoka was known as a Maurya king or that he was not known as a Nanda king. On the contrary, his grandfather Chandragupta has been represented as *Nandānvaya*, *pūrva-nanda-suta* and *Maurya-putra* in the Brahmanical works, and it is only in the Buddhist works that his family members have been known as Moriya Kṣatriyas.[2]

Since Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga in about 261 B.C. and engraved his rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍā in about 257 B.C., the date of the construction of the canal referred to in the Hātigumphā inscription, should fall somewhere in the neighbourhood of these dates. Most probably the construction of the canal and the engraving of the inscriptions took place simultaneously. Now, since the interval between the construction of the canal by Nandarāja and the fifth year of Khāravela's reign has been given as *ti-vasa-sata*, the correct interpretation of this compound will enable us to fix up the date of Khāravela. But, unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion among the scholars about its interpretation. Some interpret it as 300 years and others, as 103 years. Even Dr B. M. Barua who has been

[1] V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (4th Ed.), p. 139.

[2] H. C. Raichaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Edition), pp. 216-17 and fn. 2 of p. 216.

the last scholar to take great pains to decipher the Hātigumphā inscription, has not made up his mind whether *ti-vasa-sata* would mean 103 or 300 years.[1] He has not noticed a clue in Khāravela's inscription itself which may lead to the correct interpretation of this compound. There can be no difference of opinion that the compound *ti-vasa-sata* of the line 6 and *satadasa-leṇa-sata* of the line 14, are similar grammatical constructions and must have therefore followed the same grammatical rules. But while interpreting *satadasa-leṇa-sata* as meaning one hundred and seventeen caves, he should not entertain any doubt whether *ti-vasa-sata* stands for 103 or 300 years. The compound *satadasa-leṇa-sata* admits of only one interpretation, viz. one hundred and seventeen caves but not seventeen-hundred caves, because the latter interpretation will land us in an absurd proposition that Khāravela and his relatives excavated 1,700 caves in the Kumārī Pravata which is identified with the tiny hillock of Udayagiri. Similarly the compound *ti-vasa-sata* can admit of only one interpretation viz. 103 years, but not 300 years. Therefore, the fifth year of Khāravela's reign will be (257-103) *c.* 154 B.C. and the beginning of his reign has to be placed in *c.* 159 B.C.

The reign period of Khāravela thus falls within the rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (*c.* 184 B.C.-148 B.C.). But the Magadhan king referred to in the Hātigumphā inscription is not Pushyamitra but Bahasatimita, apparently a Prakrit form of Bṛihaspatimitra. The late Mr K. P. Jayaswal tried to solve the difficulty by identifying Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra "on the ground that Bahasati or Bṛihaspati finds mention in the *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛihya Sūtra* as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation of stars."[2] This identification may be a rare example of scholarly ingenuity, but it will be acceptable to none. As a matter of fact, although the name Bahasatimita or Bṛihaspatimitra occurs on some inscriptions and coins of Northern India, the king Bhasatimita of Magadha, the contemporary of Khāravela, still remains unidentified. Much of the difficulty will perhaps disappear, if he is identified with Bṛihaspati whom the *Divyāvadāna* represents as the son of Samprati,[3] the grandson of Aśoka. The objections that are likely to be raised against this identification are that the name of Bṛihaspati of the *Divyāvadāna* does not end with "mitra", that he is known from a single source and that it will be

[1] *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*, p. 281.
[2] Ibid. p. 274.
[3] *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. I, p. 96, fn. (108) and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 511.

difficult to suppose the existence of a scion of the Maurya dynasty as the king of Magadha after the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

Such difficulties are however inherent in the nature of the materials with which we are trying to reconstruct the history of a dim past. It will be too much to expect that the *Divyāvadāna* which has preserved some historical traditions, could have accurately preserved the name of a Magadhan king. In fact such inaccuracies of the Purāṇas have not prevented scholars from utilizing them as a source of history or identifying the discrepant names found in them with the accurate ones of the coins and inscriptions. Udāka, Bhāgabhadra and Simuka of the inscriptions have respectively been identified with Oḍraka (Āndhraka, Bhadraka etc.)[1], Bhāga (Bhāgavata etc.) and Śiśuka (Śindhuka, Chismaka etc.)[2] of the Purāṇās; and Jeṭhamitra and Indramitra of the coins with Vasujyeṣṭha (Sujyeṣṭha) and Vajramitra of the Purāṇas.[3] The contemporary Hātīgumphā inscription has correctly given the name of the Magadhan king as Bahasatimita or Bṛihaspatimitra which has been preserved in the tradition in the abbreviated form of Bṛihaspati. The suffix *mita* (*mitra*) in Bahasatimita of Khāravela's inscription cannot also be taken as a sure indication of his Śuṅga origin, for, among the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned in the Purāṇas, only four names are found with that suffix.[4] The name Bṛihaspatimitra being a common name among the contemporaries of the later Mauryas and early Śuṅgas, it will be unreasonable to think that it was monopolized by any particular dynasty.

The fact that Bṛihaspati has been mentioned as a successor of Aśoka only in the *Divyāvadāna* and in no other source, may not go against the proposed identification, if other evidences do not conflict with it. On the other hand, if other evidences support such an identification, the traditions preserved in the Buddhist literature about the successors of Aśoka should be taken as more reliable. The existence of only a single successor of Aśoka, viz. Daśaratha has so far been proved by the inscriptions,[5] while about nine other successors mentioned in the Purāṇas and one mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, no corroborative evidence is available.[6] Under the circumstances, it will be unwise to prefer any of the sources of our information to the

1 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 521.
2 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 63.
3 *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. III, Part IV, p. 479.
4 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 518.
5 Ibid. p. 512.
6 Ibid. p. 511.

exclusion of others. It is obvious that the accounts that have come down to us from the Buddhist and the Brahmanical sources about the successors of Aśoka, are fragmentary and, in some cases, fictitious and might have even been tinged with a sectarian bias. Each of these sources seems to have preserved a part or parts of the truth, but not the whole of it. The validity of their accounts can be tested only by corroborative evidences. When a contemporary inscription vouchsafes the existence of a Magadhan king named Bṛihaspatimitra, we should take Bṛihaspati of the *Divyāvadāna* as one of the successors of Aśoka. The word Bṛihaspati, by itself, could not have stood for the name of any king of this period, because the names of the deities, who were supposed to be patrons or protectors, invariably occur in conjunction with *gupta* or *mitra* to constitute the names of the kings and other high dignitaries of this epoch, e.g. Chandragupta, Pushyagupta, Jyeṣṭhamitra, Phālguṇīmitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Agnimitra, Bhūmimitra, Indramitra etc. There is therefore all the more reason to think that the name of Bṛihaspatimitra, a successor of Aśoka, has merely been abbreviated in the *Divyāvadāna* into Bṛihaspati.

The existence of a scion of the Maurya dynasty even after the *coup d'état* staged by Pushyamitra Śuṅga will not appear inconsistent with the known facts of Indian history. Pushyamitra Śuṅga has never been styled as king but has always been given the appellation of *senāpati* or commander-in-chief in all the records from which we know him. This clearly indicates that he never assumed the title of king, nor did people accept him as such. The natural inference is that there was in Magadha a king, though *Senāpati* Pushyamitra was its virtual ruler. It seems most likely that after murdering Bṛihadratha, Pushyamitra set up on the throne of Magadha a scion of the Maurya dynasty as a titular king and although he was the kingmaker, he satisfied himself with his former title *senāpati*. Had he ever become king, Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription,[1] who wanted to take pride in his connexion with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, would not have referred to him simply as *senāpati*. The tradition recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* has created confusion and has represented Pushyamitra as the successor of Bṛihaspati, while according to the above discussion he appears to be the commander-in-chief of Bṛihaspatimitra who was the titular king. Pushyamitra Śuṅga was indeed more than a king and was free to control the religious and foreign policy of the State. This type of political situation is not unfamiliar in Indian history;

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

the latest examples are the Brahmin Peshwas of the Mahratta Empire and the prime ministers of Nepal. Therefore it seems most probable that Bṛihaspati of the *Divyāvadāna* was the king of Magadha when Khāravela attacked it and has been referred to as Bahasatimita in the latter's inscription. It will be useless to attempt to establish his exact relationship with Aśoka or his grandson when our sources of information furnish us with such conflicting accounts, some recensions of the Purāṇic list giving the number of Aśoka's successors as ten; some of them, as only six; the *Divyāvadāna*, as six; Tārānātha, as three and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, as one.[1] The name of a governor of Chandragupta Maurya was Pushyagupta and therefore so far as name-endings are concerned, it is not inconsistent or improbable that the name of the commander-in-chief of Bṛihaspatimitra Maurya was Pushyamitra.

It appears, therefore, that Bṛihaspatimitra was the king of Magadha when Khāravela attacked Magadha in the twelfth year of his reign. According to the chronology adopted by us here, this second attack on Magadha by Khāravela would have taken place in 147 B.C. when Pushyamitra Śuṅga's virtual rule had just ended. It seems that so long as Pushyamitra Śuṅga was alive, it was not possible for Khāravela to humiliate the Magadhan power. Indeed such a position can be inferred from the events of the eighth year of his reign, when Khāravela is spoken of as having crossed or killed Gorathagiri[2] and as causing "terrible pressure to be brought upon the people of Rajagṛiha" and then as retreating to Mathura. This appears unusual when one considers the fact that his natural target of attack was the capital city of Magadha, i.e. Pāṭaliputra. It seems that Khāravela received strong opposition from the great general at Rajagṛiha, which checked his advance upon Pāṭaliputra and so he had to create a diversion by attacking Mathurā which was probably included in the Magadhan empire. He had to choose an opportune time for his second attack on Magadha and that opportune time seems to have been provided by the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. With the weak king Bṛihaspatimitra on the throne of Magadha it would have been comparatively easy for Khāravela to attack Pāṭaliputra and compel the reigning king to bow at his feet and to part with the honoured seat of Jina, formerly carried away to Magadha from Kaliṅga by one of his predecessors.

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 511.
[2] Dr B. N. Barua takes Gorathagiri to be the name of a king, while Mr R. D. Banerji thinks that it was the ancient name of the modern Barābar hills in the Gaya district. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 79.

The political situation of Magadha and of Pāṭaliputra after Pushyamitra Śuṅga is extremely obscure. He was the dominating personality of his age, who eclipsed all others and who has therefore loomed large in the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions because of his performance of two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and also for his anti-Buddhist activities. Although the Purāṇas speak of a number of his successors, their connexion with Magadha and Pāṭaliputra has not yet been attested to by the discovery of any archaeological evidence. The *mitra* coins, issuers of some of which have been sought to be identified with the Śuṅgas, have been found abundantly in the north particularly in Kauśāmbī (Kosam near Allahabad) and Ahichchhatra (Bareilly district), but they have been conspicuous by their absence in Magadha proper. Indramitra whose coins were discovered at Kumrāhār, the site of ancient Pāṭaliputra,[1] does not appear in the Purāṇic list of the Śuṅga-Kānvāyaṇa kings. It seems that after the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, several branches of his family established themselves in different parts of India, while Pāṭaliputra with its surrounding area remained in the possession of a scion of the Maurya dynasty. The existence of a Maurya ruling family at Pāṭaliputra as late as the seventh century A.D. is attested to by the testimony of Yuan Chwang.[2]

The hostility that existed between Kaliṅga and Magadha during the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga seems to have been reflected in a grammatical example given in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali, who is generally taken to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Pātañjali, while explaining a *vārtika* connected with the conjunction *Lit*, which is used in the sense of *parokṣa* when outright denial is intended, illustrates the rule by making somebody say "Verily I did not visit the Khaṇḍika country, nor did I visit the Kaliṅga country."[3] As Dr V. S. Agrawala rightly points out, Pātañjali seems to have put this example in the mouth of a spy of Kaliṅga who, caught by the imperial officers of Magadha, wants to evade the situation by making a downright denial of his knowledge of the Kaliṅga and Khaṇḍika countries.

Apart from the synchronism of Khāravela with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, as discussed above, another synchronism is furnished by the reference to Sātakarṇi in the Hātīgumphā inscription of Khāravela.

[1] *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 58.
[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 115.
[3] *Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society* Vol., I, No. 3, pp. 241-2.

This Sātakarṇi is described as the lord of the West and has apparently to be identified with a king of the Sātavāhāna dynasty of the Deccan. There are several kings of the name of Sātakarṇi in that dynasty and a definite identification of the Sātakarṇi of the Hātīgumphā inscription will rest as much on the evidence of the palaeography of this inscription of Khāravela and the early Sātavāhana inscriptions as on the determination of the Sātavāhāna chronology. According to Bühler, the palaeographical indications are that the Hātīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, queen of Sātakarṇi, and those belonging to the period of the last Mauryas and the early Śuṅgas are all contemporary and that they all belong to the second century B.C.[1] The opinions of the Indian epigraphists about the age of Khāravela's inscription are at variance, but nevertheless, they all, except Dr B. N. Barua, agree in placing it in the second or first century B.C.[2] Dr B. N. Barua, as already noted, places Khāravela in the first century A.D.[3] His conclusions about the dates of Khāravela and Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Sāñchi Stūpa inscription, whom he identifies as Sātakarṇī of the Hātīgumphā inscription, are based on an overestimation of the value of the Purāṇas as a source of history, whereas their limitations and defects as such have been obvious to all. The Purāṇas place the rise of the Āndhras (Sātavāhanas) after the Śuṅgas and the Kānvas and in spite of the limitations of the Purāṇas, this statement has been given much emphasis and other evidences have been made subservient to it. The evidence of palaeography is a very variable factor at this time and scholars are aware that no definite conclusion can be drawn within a century. The inscriptions of Khāravela and those of the early Sātavāhānas can well be placed in the second century B.C., as several scholars have shown and it may not be thought reasonable to lay too much stress on a statement of the Purāṇas, the value of which as a source of history is doubtful. It will be best to quote a few lines from the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (p. 522), which expose the nature of chronology that the Purāṇas have preserved for the reconstruction of the history of this period:

"The Purāṇas have been edited, and, in the process, much of value as records has been destroyed. Certain incidental statements, however, have escaped the editor; and these seem to show that the

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 530 and 535.
[2] *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 145-53, D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207, fn. 7.
[3] Ibid. p. 277.

Kāṇvas and the Śuṅgas were contemporary. The Kāṇvas, who are expressly called 'ministers of the Śuṅgas', are, in some versions, said to have become kings 'among the Śuṅgas'; and, as has been observed already, the Āndhras are credited with sweeping away not only the Kāṇvas, but, also 'what was left of the Śuṅgas' power'. With regard to the Āndhras, the more certain evidence of inscriptions assigns them to a period which is in flagrant contradiction to the position which they occupy in the Purāṇas."

It is possible thus that the dynasty of Khāravela in Kaliṅga and that of the Sātavāhānas in the Deccan rose simultaneously as a result of the decline of the Maurya power after Aśoka. It is not unreasonable to assume that the murder of Bṛihadratha by his general served as the signal for the disintegration of central authority, and might have emboldened the provinces to break loose. The rise of these two dynasties may be placed at about the same time. Apparently, Sātakarṇi, the rival of Khāravela in the west, has to be identified with a Sātavāhāna king of that name. Of Sātakarṇis mentioned in the Purāṇas, the first two closely follow each other. Apart from the reference in the Hātīgumphā inscription, the name Sātakarṇi has also been mentioned in a Nānāghāṭ inscription and in a Sāñchi epigraph, and apparently alluded to in a long inscription from Nānāghāṭ. Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hātīgumphā inscription, has usually been identified with Sātakarṇi, husband of queen Nāganikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions,[1] though some scholars differentiate the two and identify Sātakarṇi of the Hātīgumphā inscription with Sātakarṇi mentioned in a Sāñchi inscription.[2] There are scholars again, who identify all these three. Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions has usually been identified with Sātakarṇi I of the Purāṇas.[3] From the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions he appears to be a powerful and ambitious ruler. Khāravela was an equally powerful and ambitious king as the Hātīgumphā inscription indicates, and it is possible that in his designs he found an adversary in Sātakarṇi I who has been described as the lord of the West in this epigraph. Sātakarṇi of the Sāñchi epigraph, which is placed palaeographically later than the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, was probably Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇas.

[1] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.

[2] *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 145-53.

[3] Prof. G. V. Rao has tried to identify Sātakarṇis of the Hātīgumphā, Nānāghāṭ and Sāñchi inscriptions as one and the same king. *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1949*, pp. 62-5. But his observations are mainly based on hypothetical inferences and have not yet been accepted by other scholars.

This identification is also borne out by the recent archaeological discoveries at Bhubaneswar. The three Yakṣa images that were recently discovered by the present writer from Dumdumā, a village situated near the Khaṇḍagiri and the Udayagiri, are strikingly similar in their manner of standing, dress and ornaments, to the Yakṣas carved on the western gate of the Sāñchi Stūpa (Figs. 4-5). A close comparison of the Yakṣas of Dumdumā and those of Sañchi clearly bears out their affinities and represents the two as belonging to the same artistic evolution. It is noteworthy that, while the miniature Yakṣas of the Sāñchi and Dumdumā type occur in the Rāṇī-gumphā and the Gaṇeśagumphā of the Udayagiri and in the Anantagumphā of the Khaṇḍagiri, they are conspicuous by their absence in the caves that bear the inscriptions of Khāravela, his chief queen, and the Aira Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati Kaṁḍapa-siri and Kumāra Vaḍrekha. It is to be further noted that, on stylistic considerations, Sir John Marshall and Dr Stella Kramrisch have placed those caves which bear the Yakṣa images just mentioned above, at the lower end of the evolution of the earlier group of the cave temples at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri.[1] The conclusions should therefore be that the Yakṣa images of the Sāñchi type were later than the dates of Khāravela and his probable immediate successors Kaṁḍapa-siri and Vaḍrekha. It is possible that these Yakṣa images of the Rāṇī, Gaṇeśa and Ananta *gūmphās* and those discovered from the village Dumdumā were the results of a contact between Bhubaneswar and Sāñchi which, as the inscription there proves, was in the occupation of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas under Sātakarṇi II. The excavations and clearance of ancient sites at Śiśupālagarh (Bhubaneswar),[2] Sālihuṇḍram, Rāmatīrtham and Saṅghārāma[3] have brought to light a number of coins of the later Sātavāhanas, which indicate that there was a period of Āndhra-Sātavāhana contact in Kaliṅga. The conflict of Kaliṅga with the Sātavāhanas dates from the reigns of Khāravela and Sātakarṇi I. The history of Kaliṅga after Khāravela is obscure and it is possible that this conflict ended with the fall of Khāravela's dynasty and his empire in the time of Sātakarṇi II.

Some scholars would read a passage in the Hātīgumphā inscription as *Yavana-rāja Dimita*. The reading *Dimita* is, however, doubtful

[1] B. M. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 303-14.
[2] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
[3] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 51.

and Dr B. M. Barua rejects it altogether.[1] From the chronology of Khāravela, as we have tried to ascertain above, it appears that the Yavana-rāja mentioned in the inscription might possibly refer to the Bactro-Greek king Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, who was possibly the Yavana invader of Sāketa and Madhyamika referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali.[2] It is not impossible that Khāravela of Kaliṅga also took a conspicuous part in repelling the Yavana menace. It may be noted that the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* speaks about a Yavana expedition to Mathurā; and it is significant that the Hātīgumphā inscription mentions Yavana-rāja along with Mathurā.

Having discussed the vexed question of Khāravela's chronological position in which no finality can be claimed, we now proceed to speak something of the chronology of the monuments at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. As has already been observed, Sir John Marshall and Dr Stella Kramrisch, on the stylistic consideration of their reliefs, have divided the early cave temples of these hillocks into three groups, marking three stages in the development of their plastic style. Of these, the first stage is represented by the Mañchapurī group of the caves that contain the inscriptions of Khāravela's chief queen and of two other princes mentioned above; the second, by the Ananta-gumphā and its cognate members in the Khaṇḍagiri; and the third by the Rāṇīgumphā in the Udayagiri. As already noted, this classification based on stylistic considerations, is also supported by the presence of the miniature Yakṣas of the Sāñchi type in the later two groups and by their absence in the first one. It is not known how long Khāravela lived and ruled beyond the thirteenth year of his reign which is the last regnal year recorded in his epigraph. It is also not known whether *Kaliṅgādhipati Mahārāja* Kaṁḍapa-siri was his immediate successor or whether *Kumāra* Vaḍrekha ever became king of Kaliṅga. But since, according to the inscriptions in this group of caves, the upper storey known as the Svargapurī or the Vaikunṭhapurī was excavated by the chief queen of Khāravela and the lower storey known as Mañchapurī was excavated by Kaṁ-dapa-siri and Vaḍrekha, it becomes evident that Kaṁḍapa-siri

[1] *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 18, fns. 16 and 17.
Dr Barua also says that the fifth letter of the reading *Yavanarāja* is distinctly *da* and not *a*. Dr D. C. Sircar, however, maintains that the reading *Yavana-rāja* is clear but *Dimita* or *Ḍimita* is doubtful. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 208, fn. 9.

[2] R. C. Mazumdar, *History and Culture of the Indian People. The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol. II, pp. 106-7.

became the lord of Kaliṅga when Khāravela's chief queen was living. So it seems most probable that he was the immediate successor of Khāravela. We may therefore work out the following tentative chronology of the prominent cave-temples at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri:

Group I Hātīgumphā containing Khāravela's inscription, Sarpagumphā, Vyāghragumphā and Pavanagumphā—*c.* 146 B.C.

Group II Svargapurī, Mañchapurī and the adjoining caves—*c.* 146 B.C.-126 B.C.

Group III Anantagumphā, Tattvagumphā No. 1 and Tattvagumphā No. 2,—*c.* 126 B.C.-100 B.C.

Group IV Rāṇīgumphā and Gaṇeśagumphā,—*c.* 1000 B.C.-75 B

There might be a good deal of truth in the statement of the Hātīgumphā inscription recording the activities of the thirteenth year of his reign, that king Khāravela and his relatives excavated one hundred and seventeen caves in the Kumāri Parvata. Even a casual exploration in this area reveals a number of caves half-buried in debris or destroyed by quarries made in the later period for building the temples at Bhubaneswar. The excavation of these caves by Khāravela had both a religious and a political significance. The reference to the honoured seat of Jina in the Hātīgumphā inscription, which had been carried away to Magadha by a Nanda king and which was brought back to Kaliṅga by Khāravela, seems to imply that, prior to its conquest by Aśoka, the state religion in Kaliṅga was Jainism and the seat of Jina, a sacred object, connected either with the state ritual or with the royal household. Otherwise, this object, shorn of its religious significance, would not have been counted as a war trophy either by a Magadhan emperor after his victory over Kaliṅga or by Khāravela after his victory over Magadha.

The early spread of Jainism in Kaliṅga is suggested by traditions recorded in the Jaina sacred literature. The Jaina *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* records that Mahāvīra Vardhamāna preached his religion in Kaliṅga and the *Haribhadrīya-vṛitti* says that he went to this country as its king was a friend of his father.[1] It thus seems that, although the struggle between Magadha and Kaliṅga during the reign of Khāravela was mainly due to a political rivalry between two neighbouring states, a religious factor as one of the causes could not have been en-

[1] R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 61.

tirely eliminated. There is no reason to disbelieve Aśoka's statement that he was the first king to conquer the theretofore unconquered country of Kaliṅga which had no doubt remained a bulwark against the expansion of the Magadhan empire in the south-west. In fact, Kaliṅga was the only country in India, which is known to have presented a persistent challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha, but she had to pay dearly for it and ultimately had to lose her independence. The loss of independence and the missionary activities of Aśoka would have no doubt met with the resentment of the people of Kaliṅga. The inscriptions and monuments of Aśoka in the Bhubaneswar area would have also reminded them of their defeat in the terrible Kaliṅga war. So, they must have been looking for an opportunity to throw off Magadhan imperialism and to revive their own culture and religion. It appears that Kaliṅga had regained her independence before the reign of Khāravela, most probably soon after the death of Aśoka. At any rate there is nothing in the Hātīgumphā inscription to indicate that she regained her independence in the reign of Khāravela. Rather, the description of his boyhood as given in the inscription gives us an impression that he was the son of an independent monarch.

Though the liberation of Kaliṅga might have been achieved before Khāravela, it was left to him to complete the work of his predecessors by waging a successful struggle against Magadha and by getting back the sacred seat of Jina which seems to have had a great significance in the religious life of the people. It is noteworthy that after the recovery of this sacred symbol from Magadha in the twelfth year of his reign, the excavation of the cave temples for the Jaina ascetics in the Kumārī-Parvata was undertaken by him just in the succeeding year. The recovery of the honoured seat of Jina seems to have given an impetus to the religious activities of the king and of the people. It is also noteworthy that the record was engraved in the Hātīgumphā in the thirteenth regnal year of the king, when he had achieved a victory over Magadha which resulted in the recovery of the sacred seat and when he had excavated a number of cave temples for the Jaina ascetics and had distributed white garments among them. It is also significant that, for recording the events of his reign and for constructing his monuments, Khāravela chose the hill of Udayagiri which is not far from the Dhauligiri bearing Aśoka's rock edicts and also from the Bhāskareśvara temple that represents the ancient site of the Aśokan pillar.

The monuments of Udayagiri thus mark the height of the glory of Khāravela's dynasty, when freedom had been won, the defeat from Magadha avenged, the sacred seat of Jina recoverėd and the revival of Jainism was in full force. What happened after Khāravela, we can only conjecture. Kaṁḍapa-siri who has styled himself as Aira Mahārāja Kaliṅgādhipati in the Mañchapurī cave inscription, was certainly one of his successors, but nothing is known of him. Nothing is also known of the prince Vaḍrekha mentioned in another inscription of the same cave. Recently Mr T. N. Ramachandran has attempted to throw some light on the activities of these royal personages by identifying a scene that occurs in the Mañchapurī cave. His observations with regard to the scene are as follows:

"The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave is the central scene on the facade of the verandah (Plate I). Though unfortunately mutilated, what remains shows a throne with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women. The first man near the throne is badly mutilated. He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne. Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sārnāth. Let us call him the prince. Behind the prince stand two women of equal status. The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the princess. Above the king and the prince are two *gandharavas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole. It is not the bell as R. D. Banerji took it to be. Above the women adjoining the *gandharavas* there is a representation of a 'full-blown lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Sūrya. While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharavas* over the party bring out their importance. Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), prince (perhaps Kuḍepasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kaliṅga Jina which Khāravela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people?

"Another possible identification is with reference to the inscriptions actually found in this cave. The nearmost king may be Kuḍepasiri while behind him stands the Kumāra (heir-apparent—is he Vaḍukha ?), in which case, the peculiar tiara can be taken to be a coronet."[1]

The first suggestion of Mr Ramachandran seems to be more probable. The scene seems to represent Khāravela and his family as

[1] Ind. Hist. Q., Vol. XXVII, 1951, No. 2, pp. 103-4.

paying homage to the sacred seat of Jina recovered from Magadha and this scene was caused to be carved by the king Kaṁḍapa-siri or Kuḍepasiri who, according to the inscription, was the excavator of the cave. The king Kaṁḍapa-siri thus seems to have taken pride in the achievements of his predecessor. He, like his predecessor, was also a Jaina. Besides these few facts, nothing more can be said of him. A pall of darkness descends on the history of Orissa and of Bhubaneswar after Khāravela's dynasty. With regard to the dark period that followed the end of his dynasty, Prof. R. D. Banerji has observed that no history, political or cultural, is available for eight hundred years till we come to the seventh century A.D.[1] With materials that have recently been discovered, we shall however try to have a glimpse into this dark period of Orissan history.

A Probable Period of Āndhra Supremacy in Orissa

We have already suggested that it was probably Sātakarṇi II who put an end to Khāravela's dynasty and his empire. The suggestion has been based on the four Yakṣa images recently discovered by the present writer from the Bhubaneswar area and also on the miniature Yakṣas, that occur in some caves of the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills. Of the four images, three were found in a field in the village Dumdumā near Jāgmarā not far from these hills and one from a site near the Brahmeśvara temple. Two of the Dumdumā statues are in complete form, each measuring 5 feet 7 inches in height and each having a socket on the head, which was evidently intended for the insertion of some other structural part (Fig. 5). Like the conventional dwarfs of the later temples, they have also been shown as bent under the weight of a structure which they raise with uplifted hands. There can be no doubt that they were utilized in some structure. Their frontal pose, the bulged-out bellies, bent knees, broad torques, heavy ear-ornaments, bracelets numbering more than one in each hand, and the folds of their *dhotis* hanging down between their legs, are strikingly similar to those of the Yakṣas forming the capitals of the pillars that support the architraves in the west gateway of the Sāñchi Stūpa.[2] The third specimen discovered from Dumdumā is a torso which has been split in the middle, dividing it into two halves, front and back portions. It was also a Yakṣa image. Its back portion shows elaborate knots of a *dhoti* as the back portions of the other two

[1] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 108 and Vol. II, p. 333.
[2] Sir John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. II, Plates LVII and LIX.

do, but in addition it also shows a scarf with borders of beads, worn in the form of a cross with a rosette at the point of intersection (Fig. 5). This type of scarf is also to be found in the Yakṣa images of Sāñchi.[1] The fourth specimen discovered from the Brahmeśvara area, though a Yakṣa of the same type, is entirely different from the other three in dimensions. It measures 4 feet by 5 feet and has holes below the arms which no other specimen has. Another Yakṣa of the Dumdumā type is being worshipped as a village deity in a small shrine situated near a tank in the village Baḍgaḍ, about 2 miles to the north-east of Bhubaneswar and a sixth specimen is reported to be in the village Pañchgan about 5 miles to the west of the temple town.

The sockets on the heads of the above show that they were architectural parts and were most probably utilized in the *stūpa* structures as capitals of pillars. The Yakṣas of Sāñchi, standing back to back and numbering four in each capital, have been carved in relief, but the specimens found here are free-standing statues carved, like all other early images, on both sides. The pillars of the gateways of the *stūpas* to which they originally belonged, therefore had capitals different from those at Sāñchi. These capitals seem to have been formed of a single Yakṣa, but not of four as in Sāñchi. As we have already said, these Yakṣa images and their miniature prototype in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves indicate close cultural contacts between Bhubaneswar and Sāñchi which was probably in the occupation of the Āndhra-Sātavāhānas during the reign of Sātakarṇi II.

We have also spoken of the later Āndhra coins that have been discovered from the ancient sites of ancient Kaliṅga including Śiśupālagarh near Bhubaneswar. The ancient site of Śiśupālagarh, while under excavation, revealed in common with other ancient sites of the south, the black-and-red and rouletted wares, terracotta bullae and ear-ornaments. We have also already seen that the earliest Śaiva sculptures, now attached to the rebuilt temple of Uttareśvara, can be dated back to the second or third century A. D. and that they exhibit characteristics akin to those of the images in the Karli and Kahneri caves, assigned to the late Āndhra period. A period of Sātavāhāna supremacy in Āndhra-deśa is now being proved by the discovery of numismatic evidence[2] and since Kaliṅga was contiguous to Āndhra-deśa and since the mount Mahendra situated in Kaliṅga has found place in the list of the mountains of which Gautamīputra

[1] Ibid. Plate LIX.
[2] *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, p. 53.

Sātakarṇi is said to have been the lord,[1] it may not be unreasonable to infer that there was a period of Āndhra-Sātavāhāna supremacy in Orissa and this supremacy begun with the fall of Khāravela's dynasty and ended in about the third century A.D.

There are evidences of the existence of *stūpa* structure in the Bhubaneswar area, possibly belonging to this epoch. A number of railing posts have been found from the locality near the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. A railing post recently found by the present writer in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple has already been referred to above (Fig. 3). Of the other finds, Mr N. K. Bose reports as follows: "Prof. Radhakumud Mukherji discovered a piece of railing some three years ago on a field lying to the north of the temple Bhāskareśvara. It was a corner post of a railing having lenticular sockets in two adjacent sides and two turbaned figures in an attitude of adoration in the other two. A friend of mine discovered a third piece of railing post at a spot which was twenty yards away from the spot from which the first one had been found. It had sockets for insertion in opposite sides and the praying figures on the other two at almost the same place."[2] The present writer has no opportunity to examine the finds reported by Mr Bose, but it is presumed that like one recently found by him, they were of the same pattern and evidently belonged to the rail enclosure of a *stūpa*. The style of carvings would place these railings about the second-first century B.C. In all likelihood there was a *stūpa* in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple, but the extensive changes that have taken place in the original contours of its neighbourhood since those days, have resulted in the total disappearance of the structure, although the railing posts which originally formed the fence round it, furnish us with the proof of its existence.

Two statues of Nāgarāja recently discovered by the present writer from the suburbs of Bhubaneswar, possibly belong to a period when the style and tradition of the north again make themselves felt in Orissa. One of them was found from a spot near the Brahmeśvara temple, about a mile to the east of Bhubaneswar, and the other from the village Sundarapadā situated about a mile and a half to the west of the Liṅgarāja temple. Of the Sundarapadā statue (Fig. 2), a part of the torso and the head are missing. The front parts of its feet which were carved out of another piece of stone are also missing. It stands

[1] Ibid. p. 50.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XV, p. 261.

against the coils of a snake, the tail of which is found going underneath its leg. The image wears a *dhoti*, the lower end and folds of which hang down between the legs and the left side. From the girdle or waistband, which it wears, a long sword with a sheath also hangs down. Carved out of a poor type of sand-stone, it has suffered from much wear and tear. A close parallel of the above, the Brahmeśvara specimen, has also suffered much from wear and tear and has, in addition, a thin coat of lichen and verdigris covered all over the body. But it shows the full figure of a Nāgarāja standing against the coils of a snake with five hoods serving as a canopy over its head. The hoods have broken off, but the lines demarcating them show that they were five in number. The image wears a conical cap over the head, unusually big ear ornaments, a broad torque and heavy bracelets and had probably a sword hanging down to the left, of which only the traces remain at present. Of the two hands, the left is hanging down and the right is shown in the *abhaya* form.

A careful comparison of the ornaments, garments and swords worn by these Nāgarājas with those of the sculptures in the Udayagiri cave-temples, particularly the large-sized *dwārapalas* there, shows that they belong to a conception entirely dissimilar and different. These statues must have therefore preceded or succeeded Khāravela's time. Probably they succeeded the age of this monarch, because in their modelling and in the manner of wearing garments, they have greater affinities with the series of colossal Yakṣa and Nāga images such as those of Pārkham, Patna, Pawaya etc. A comparison of these two figures with the statue of Maṇibhadra Yakṣa from Pawaya,[1] clearly reveals a close affinity and it is not impossible that the three belong to the same period, i.e. the first century B.C. Like the Pawaya one, the two Bhubaneswar figures reveal themselves as free-standing images carved on both sides, which in all probability were worshipped as cult deities. Nāga worship seems to have been widely spread in India, and one of the most flourishing centres of this worship in the north-east was Rājgir where an image of Nāga of about the first century B.C. has been discovered. It appears that the Nāga worship, which represents a popular folk cult, asserted itself on the decline of Buddhism and Jainism which flourished respectively under Aśoka and Khāravela.

[1] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian Art in India and Indonesia*, fig. 63.

A Period of Muruṇḍa Supremacy

The cultural epoch, the material civilization of which is represented by the relics just referred to, carries us possibly down to the third century A.D., after which we are again confronted with almost a blank period. The period intervening between the end of the Imperial Kushāṇa Dynasty and the rise of the Imperial Guptas, is the darkest period of Indian history. The same darkness also envelops the history of Orissa and of Bhubaneswar. From the last occupation levels of Śiśupālagarh (*c.* A.D. 200 - A.D. 300) some so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins were discovered,[1] which have also been found from a number of places in Orissa.[2] The crude human figures that appear on these coins are certainly the imitations of the figures of kings found on the imperial Kushāṇa coins, but they have been assigned to a period when the Kushāṇa empire had become a thing of the past. A gold coin found from the Śiśupālagarh excavation also clearly imitates a coin-type of Vāsudeva I on the obverse and bears a Roman head on the reverse.[3] The legend on the coin has been read and restored by Dr Altekar as *Mahārājadhasa Dharmadāmadharasa* which was intended to stand for *Mahārāja-rājādhirāja Dharmadāmadharasya.* Dr Altekar assigns it to the third century A.D. and thinks that the king Dharmadāmadhara of the coin might have been a Muruṇḍa king ruling a part of Bihar and Orissa with his capital at Pāṭaliputra. Such an inference has been based by him both on the literary evidence and the evidence supplied by the coin itself. The Muruṇḍas, like the Kushāṇas, were foreigners hailing from the north-west and would have liked to imitate Kushāṇa coin-types and the imperial Kushāṇa title *Mahārāja-rājādhirāja.* The existence of a Muruṇḍa ruling family at Pāṭaliputra is suggested by the *Brihatkalpavritti* of the Jainas, quoted in the *Abhidhāna-rājendra*, which refers to a widow of a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra as having accepted the Jain gospel. The Jain tradition is further supported by the Purāṇas which vaguely refer to

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 72, and Plate.

[2] These coins have been found from Puri, Ganjam, Balasore, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts of Orissa and from Singhbhum district of Bihar. See Mr R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 111, and T. N. Ramachandran's *Find of Tempera Painting in Sitābhiñji, District Keonjhar, Orissa*, in *Artibus Asiae*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 22 ff. Plate VII b. V. A. Smith assigns them to the fourth or the fifth century A.D. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 64-5. Some specimens bear the legend *tanka* in the characters of the 8th century. So it seems that though this currency originated in the fourth or the fifth century, it continued to be used to a very late date, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 111-12.

[3] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.

thirteen Muruṇḍa kings as ruling in the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta period.[1]

Dr Altekar's inference is somewhat corroborated by a Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Dathāvaṁsa*.[2] The work professes to deal with the history of the tooth relic of the Buddha, which can be summarized as follows:

After the division of the remains of the Buddha's dead body, the left tooth relic was taken by Khema and was given to Brahmadatta, king of Kaliṅga, who erected a *chaitya* over it. Brahmadatta's son Kāśirāja, his grandson Sunanda and his great grandson Guhaśiva who successively ruled after him, each erected a *chaitya* and worshipped the same relic. The last successor, Guhaśiva, drove out all *Niganthas* (the Jainas) from his kingdom, who appealed to king Pāṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra who was then a very powerful king of Jambudvipa. Since Guhaśiva was a subordinate ruler, he was summoned by king Pāṇḍu to appear before him with the tooth relic, which he did. After having seen many a miracle performed by the tooth relic, the king of Pāṭaliputra, advised by his minister Chittāyana, gave up the false belief and received the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhaśiva also became his great friend. The remaining part of the story relates how Dantakumāra, prince of Ujjain, after having married the daughter of Guhaśiva, ultimately took the tooth relic to Ceylon.

Since the story of the tooth relic is represented to have been originally written in ancient Ceylonese in about A.D. 310 before it was rendered into Pali in the thirteenth century, the tradition recorded in it could not have referred to events later than the third century A.D.[3] That all the persons connected with the tradition are not fictitious, is proved by the testimony of the Purāṇas which mention Guha or Guhas as ruling over Kaliṅga and Māhiṣya.[4] The name Guha or Guhaśiva also seems to have been connected with a place mentioned as Guhadeva Pāṭaka or Guheśvara Pāṭaka in the Bhauma copper-plate grants.[5] The Jaina tradition represents the widow of a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra as having accepted the Jaina gospel; the Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Dathāvaṁsa* also represents king Pāṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra as a Jaina, or else the Jainas oppressed by Guhaśiva would not have gone to him for redress of their grievance or the

1 *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 100-101.
2 Edited and translated by Dr B. C. Law.
3 Ibid. p. ii.
4 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 54, 74.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol II, pp. 419-27.

tooth relic carried to Pāṭaliputra would not have been put to tests. Dr Altekar suggests that Dharmadāmadhara of the gold coin might have been a Muruṇḍa king ruling over a portion of Bihar and Orissa. Piecing these bits of facts together, we may conclude that Orissa was perhaps under the supremacy of the Muruṇḍas who were responsible for the currency in Orissa of the coins that have distinctly imitated the Kushāṇa coin types.

It is difficult to say when and how the epoch represented by the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins ended in Orissa, particularly in Bhubaneswar. This epoch seems to have been dominated by Buddhism of which the Yakṣa images provide us with archaeological evidence. The Yakṣa images that we have noticed above, certainly did not belong to a single *stūpa*. Three specimens found from Dumdumā might have belonged to one and the same structure, because two of them in complete form are of equal height. They would have also been contemporary with their miniature prototypes occurring in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves. But other specimens found far away from Dumdumā are of different dimensions, style and fabric and therefore they must have belonged to different structures and different periods. The Brahmeśvara specimen seems to have belonged to the latest period, because it is merely a crude imitation of the earlier type. Chronologically the stūpa-building activities in this area might have covered a long period, although it will now be difficult to say anything about this period with precision. The mounds which can possibly represent the ruins of ancient *stūpas* are still to be found near Dumdumā, Sundarpadā, Śiśupālagarh and Baḍgaḍ. These archaeological evidences indicate a period of Buddhist domination, although Jainism and Śaivism might have existed side by side with Buddhism as minor faiths. The archaeological evidences also accord with the Buddhist tradition that we have analysed above.

The Gupta Age in Orissa

Evidences are now forthcoming to show that the Guptas were in occupation of at least the coastal districts of Orissa. Samudragupta during his southern campaigns conquered southern Kośala (the Upper Mahānadī Valley), Mahākāntāra and vanquished several southern kings of whom the territories of Svāmīdatta of Kottura, Dāmana of Eraṇḍapalle and Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra, most likely lay in Kaliṅga, but no evidence exists to show that they were annexed to

the Gupta empire.[1] The influence of the Gupta empire is however to be found in the use in the Gupta Era of several copperplate grants discovered from the Ganjam and Balasore districts. Dr R. C. Mazumdar, with good reasons, thinks that the years mentioned in the Soro copperplate and Patiakellā copperplate of Śivarāja are all recorded in the Gupta Era.[2] Certain copperplates discovered from Ganjam district distinctly specify the years, mentioned in them, as having been recorded in the Gupta Era. Of such grants the first to be discovered is that of Mādhavarāja II dated in the Gupta year 300,[3] the second that of Pṛithivī Vigraha dated in 250 years of the same era and published in the first number of the first volume of the Sanskrit Magazine, *Manorama*, (Śiromaṇi Press, Berhampur, Ganjam) and the third is that of Loka Vigraha dated in 200 G.E.[4] Since Pṛithivī Vigraha and Loka Vigraha appear as the overlords of the donors of these charters, it is just likely that they were the viceroys of the Gupta emperors but were virtually independent, though still acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta empire then crumbling to pieces. But when we come to the Gupta year 300(A.D. 619) we find that the line of the Vigraha kings had become extinct, because king Śāśāṅka, the overlord of Mādhavarāja II, had occupied Orissa including Ganjam district.[5] Even if the Vigraha kings are not taken as the viceroys of the Gupta emperors, the use of the Gupta Era in the Orissa copperplates and the discovery of the sculptures at Bhubaneswar and Deṅgāposi bearing the Gupta characteristics, indicate a strong influence exercised by the Gupta cultural age on Orissa.

There are evidences to show that by the fifth century A.D. Śaivism became the dominant form of religion of Bhubaneswar, and Buddhism and Jainism receded into the background. The inscription on the lion capital recovered from near the Bhāskareśvara temple indicates that the Aśoka pillar might have been converted into the Śiva *liṅgam* of that temple not later than the fifth century A.D. The manner in which a Buddhist monument has been converted into a Phallic emblem also indicates a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Śaivas, of which a tradition seems to have found place in the *Ekāmra*

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 115 ff.
[2] *J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
[4] *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Soc.*, Vols. II & III, pp. 261 ff. Mr S. N. Rajguru, the editor, reads *Gupta-kale* 200 but the facsimile reproduced is so very indistinct and blurred, that I am unable to verify it.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.

Purāṇa. The author of this work devotes eight chapters (from the 25th to 32nd) to the description of a dreadful war which is said to have taken place between the gods and demons on the bank of the river Gandhavatī, now known as Gaṅguā, flowing in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar. Bereft of poetical effusions the upshot of the story is that when the gods wanted to perform a Śaiva *yajña* on the bank of the Gandhavatī, Hiraṇyākṣya, king of demons, advised by Śukra, wanted to put a stop to it. The demons hid themselves in the jungle on the bank of the river and at night fell upon the performers of the *yajña*, who fled in panic. Then there was a pitched battle between the gods under Indra and the demons under Hiraṇyākṣya, in which the gods were defeated. The defeated gods thereupon approached Śiva who with his miraculous powers defeated the demons. Kālanemī, a prominent leader of the demons, was killed and Hiraṇyākṣya fled to the forest to practise penance.

The tradition, though couched in a mythological form, seems to have contained some germs of historical truth. This probability gains ground when we find that the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* also preserves some traditions about certain historical personages. We have shown in Chapter III how it faithfully preserves a tradition about "Śaśāṅka, the lord of the earth, who ruled a portion of the earth extending up to Kaliṅga." It is not unlikely that the war between the gods and the demons described by it is in reality a conflict between the Śaivas and the Buddhists, of which the Aśokan pillar converted into a Śiva *liṅgam* provides us with archaeological evidence. Besides, there is a village in the neighbourhood of Khaṇḍagiri which is known as Jāgamarā meaning "the place where the *jāga* or sacrifice was destroyed", and there is another village about five miles from this place, which is known as Jāgasarā meaning "the place where the *jāga* or sacrifice was completed." The archaeological evidence, the tradition and the place-names thus combine to show that there was a religious struggle between the Śaivas and the Buddhists. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, a Śaiva work, would have certainly liked to term the Buddhists as demons and the followers of Śiva as gods.

To the period when the Aśokan pillar was destroyed, we may also assign a number of rock-cut caves which have up till now received very little attention from scholars. These caves are still to be found in the close vicinity of the temple of Bhāskareśvara, mostly to the west of it. They have been excavated on the edges of an immense laterite quarry which seems to have supplied stones for the buildings and

gateways of Śiśupālagarh, situated about a mile to the south-east of this place. Since the traces of an ancient road leading up to this place from Śiśupālagarh and also of a bridge on the river Gaṅgua are still in existence and since it alone is the nearest place which could have possibly served as a quarry for laterite stones for the innumerable buildings and huge gateways of this ancient city, that are found on excavation to have been built of this material, such an inference will not appear without foundation. Once it is conceded that the place served as the quarry for buildings in Śiśupālagarh and the edges of the quarry existed at the time the caves were excavated, we find at least some evidence for determining the age of these monuments. The excavations at Śiśupālagarh have shown that the city originated in the third century B.C. and that it was abandoned in the fourth century A.D. Therefore the edges of the laterite quarry would have been available for excavating the caves only after the fourth century A.D. This inference leads us approximately to the time when, as the inscription on the Lion Capital indicates, the Aśokan pillar might have been converted into a Śiva *liṅgam*.

These rock-cut caves in some respects show architectural features more advanced than those in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves. Although without sculptures, which the laterite rock is incapable of receiving, the chambers are well-built and more spacious than their Jaina prototypes. The most remarkable group known as Pañcha Pāṇḍava Gumphā, which is still in a tolerably good condition, consists of three spacious chambers of which the middle one measures 20 feet by 6 feet and has on both sides smaller chambers each measuring 16 feet 5 inches by 6 feet. All the chambers have a uniform height of 5 feet 8 inches. In front of the chambers, there was a spacious verandah 41 feet by 11 feet with a row of six pillars which supported a super-structure and of which only the basements remain at present.[1] The dimension gives us an idea that they were much better designed and more spacious than the cell-like caves at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. The existence of seven other groups of similar rock-cut caves can be traced on the edges of this laterite quarry and also in the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple, but they are now mostly ruined or half-buried in debris. Water supply to the cave colony seems to have been maintained from a *vāpī* (stepped-well) situated to the north of the Bhāskareśvara temple, which is now filled up with debris.

[1] The measurements have been taken from Mr K. N. Mahapatra's article appearing in the local magazine *Vaitaraṇī*, Vol. X, pp. 40-4.

No evidence exists in the bodies of these caves to indicate the sect to which they belonged. If the period of their origin as indicated by us, is accepted, they are to be taken as the Śaiva monuments. The presence of the Bhāskareśvara temple in the close vicinity, which must have been a Śaiva shrine before the fifth century A.D., lends support to this supposition. Besides, in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves, there is still enshrined an image of Lakulīśa with his four disciples represented on the side panels. The age of the image seems to be the same as that of the earliest Śaiva temples of the place and its presence indicates that these caves have continued to be a Śaiva shrine. That the Śaiva ascetics lived in caves to practise penance, is also evident from the archaeological remains at Deṅgāpośi in the Keonjhar district of Orissa. Deṅgāpośi and Sītābhiñji, the two neighbouring villages, contain a number of natural rock shelters in the hills, which attracted the Śaiva ascetics. That these shelters were the abodes of the ascetics in the fifth or the sixth century A.D. is proved by a line of inscription in the characters of those centuries on a rock near a group of shelters, which reads as "*Puruḍhasa chhichha Maruta*" i.e. Maruta, the disciple of Puruḍha.[1] The rock-shelters were therefore the abodes of the ascetics who lived there with their disciples. That these ascetics were Śaiva ascetics is proved by the existence of the only cult image there, which is a Mukha-*liṅgam*. The archaeological remains of Deṅgāpośi and Sītābhiñji and these caves near the Bhāskareśvara temple furnish us with the evidence that the Gupta period in Orissa was marked by Śaiva ascendancy.

Besides these rock-cut caves there are further archaeological evidences to show that the Śaiva shrines existed at Bhubaneswar in the

[1] This inscription along with other archaeological remains has been published with photographs conjointly by Pandit B. Misra and the present writer in the *Modern Review*, March 1938, pp. 302-5. Mr T. N. Ramachandran has recently written an illuminating article on *Find of Tempera Paintings in Silabhinji, District Keonjhar, Orissa*, in *Artibus Asiae*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Q. Vol. XIV 1/2, pp. 5-25. From a study of the fresco paintings, inscriptions, one stone Mukhaliṅgam, the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins, metallic objects and one soap-stone figurine—he has come to the conclusion that the civilization revealed by these remains at Sītābhiñji, flourished in the period between the 4th and the 6th century A.D. He also concludes that the site where the inscriptions are found "was perhaps a Śiva shrine or sacred to Śiva". In the Mukha-*liṅgam*, which he assigns to the Gupta period, he has noticed the flap or the foreskin of the *phallus*, that can be seen below the heads of Śiva. In the Bhāskareśvara *liṅgam* which is a remnant of an Aśokan pillar converted into a *liṅgam* about this period contemporary to the caves nearby, there is a deeply incised small dent on the top centre, just resembling the central orifice on the inside nut of a male organ. The representation of these details indicates how the followers of the Pāśupata sect of this period made the Śiva *liṅgams* closely resemble the *membrum virile*.

fifth and sixth century A.D. These evidences are furnished by some detached Śaiva sculptures which we have noticed in the preceding chapters. We have shown in Chapter VIII that a type of the Kārttikeya image bears the Gupta characteristics of art and that it is a close prototype of the Kārttikeya image to be found on the Gupta temple at Bhumarā (Fig. 96). Some detached images of the Bhāratī Maṭha have also been assigned to this epoch (Figs. 125-134).

BHUBANESWAR IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

With the end of the sixth century, the history of Bhubaneswar entered upon a new stage in which king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa seems to have played a great part. India in the first half of the seventh century was dominated by three great personalities, viz. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj in the north, Pulakeśin II in the south and west and Śaśāṅka in the east, but while history has done ample justice to the first two, it has been unfair to the last one, because it has tried to estimate his character and achievements only through the records that have emanated from his political rivals, or their friends and supporters, or from the sources of the Buddhists who regarded him as an enemy of their religion. His coins indicate that he was a follower of Śiva and Yuan Chwang's accounts represent him as an enemy of Buddhism, who destroyed a number of famous Buddhist monuments.[1] It seems that he played a great part in the east in the revival of Hinduism and stamping out Buddhism. At any rate the Śaiva shrine of Bhubaneswar preserves some traditions which indicate that a grateful posterity remembered him as a great and devout follower of Śiva, a person of great fame and infinite intelligence, a maker of many monuments, and as one who worshipped all the *liṅgams* that existed in India and who built a great temple in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara and performed a great worship there. We have already quoted the English translations of the relevant portions of these traditions in Chapter III and have published the Sanskrit originals in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV, pp. 114, ff. The fact that the orthodox texts containing these traditions, scarcely speak of any earthly being however exalted, but speak of Śaśāṅka in such glowing terms goes a long way in indicating the great part that must have been played by him in this sacred city; but unfortunately no record exists to show the exact type of the work that he did. The

[1] Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. II, pp. 43, 92, 115, 116.

temple which is said to have been built by him in the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara is no longer in existence; the great temple of Liṅgarāja which now stands there is a monument of the eleventh century. Replacing old temples by new ones has been a regular process at Bhubaneswar and the temple built by Śaśāṅka seems to have perished through the same process.

It seems, however, that Śaśāṅka made lord Tribhuvaneśvara the presiding deity of the place. We have already seen that the Śaiva temples existed at Bhubaneswar before the seventh century, but it is from the times of Śaśāṅka that the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara became supreme and its supremacy has not since then been questioned. If the traditions recorded in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* are to be believed, they indicate that the deity was originally under a mango tree and it was not seen as a *liṅgam* in the first two ages, Satya and Treta. In the Dvāpara and Kali ages it revealed itself as a *liṅgam* but had no temple. When one quarter of the Kali age had passed away, Śaśāṅka came and built a temple for it.[1] These traditions are to some extent, corroborated by archaeological evidence. Anybody who has closely examined the Liṅgarāja must have been convinced that only its *Śakti* is made by human hand, but its *liṅgam* is a natural stone. It seems that this natural stone was originally under a mango tree which gave the place the name Ekāmra, till Śaśāṅka came and perceived in it the signs of a *Svayambhu liṅgam*[2] and built a temple for it. The *liṅgam* thus established came to be known as Kṛittivāsa.

This name continued to be used in all orthodox texts. Mr T. A. Gopinath Rao quotes a list of sixty-eight places in different parts of India, which are said to have contained *Svayambhu liṅgams* and which are mentioned in the commentary on the *Jīrṇoddhāradaśakam* by Nigama-jñānadeva. The thirtieth place in the list is Ekagrāma which is said to have contained a *Svayaṁbhu lingam* known as Kṛittivāsa. But Mr Rao was not sure of the reading of this place-name as is apparent from the fact that he has put a question mark against it.[3] The place-name is undoubtedly Ekāmra but not Ekagrāma as is evident from the fact that the *Svayambhu liṅgam* of Ekāmra in all inscriptions and Sanskrit texts has been described as Kṛittivāsa or in a corrupt form as Kīrttivāsa, but not as Liṅgarāja which is a later

[1] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XV, pp. 114 ff.

[2] According to orthodox conception a *Svayambhu liṅgam* is self-established and is not made by human hand. In other words, it is a natural stone.

[3] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 82-5.

invention. In the orthodox traditional texts Bhubaneswar is also referred to as Hemakuṭa, Hemādri, Svarṇṇakūṭa, Svarṇṇādri etc. According to the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata, Hemakūṭa is another name for Kailāsa.[1] Is it possible that because of the sanctity of the shrine of Kṛittivāsa at Bhubaneswar the place was regarded as Kailās, the abode of the god Śiva and the names synonymous with Kailās were invented?

We do not know when Śaśāṅka's rule ended in Orissa or when he was ousted from it. All that is known for certain is that he was the overlord of Koṅgoda up till A.D. 619-20. The Midnapore copper-plates[2] and the Sore copper-plates[3] prove that his governors were ruling in Midnapore and Balasore districts; the tradition of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* indicates that he built a temple at Bhubaneswar and the Ganjam plate of Mādhavarāja II proves that he was the overlord of Koṅgoda. So there is no doubt that he was the master of the whole of Orissa and possibly remained so till his death. As Prof. R. D. Banerji observes, the adherence of the Śailodbhavas to him was so strong that Harṣavardhana had to undertake another campaign in Koṅgoda even after Śaśāṅka's death, and had to spend a long time in Orissa. Harṣa's campaign in Orissa and Koṅgoda was, however, directed more against Pulakeśin II than against the Śailodbhava ruler, because the former was approaching northwards, along the Eastern coast and had already conquered Southern Kośala and Kaliṅga before A.D. 634.[4] Harṣa's religious predilection being mostly in favour of Buddhism, it is not likely that he had to do anything with the Śaiva shrine at Bhubaneswar. It also seems likely that before he left Orissa, he left the struggle for its possession to be continued by his ally Bhāskaravarman, king of Assam, and the latter carried on the struggle against the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II. Such a position may also be inferred from a tradition recorded in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* about the origin of the shrine of Gokarṇṇeśvara at Bhubaneswar, now represented by a small temple of the same name on the bank of the river Gaṅguā near Śiśupālagarh. The tradition contained in the forty-eighth chapter of this work is briefly as follows:

Gokarṇa, son of the demon Gavala, advised by prient Muñjakeśa, came to Ekāmra to worship Śiva, but having failed to see the

[1] N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary* (*see* under Kailāsa); *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XII, p. 535, ff.

[2] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI (1945), pp. 1-9.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197, ff.

[4] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 129.

Svayambhu liṅgam, saw a *liṅgam* at a place situated at a distance of one thousand cows to the north-east of the temple of Krittivāsa. He immediately established it and worshipped it every day with various offerings in the morning and then went to his palace Prāgjyotiṣapurī every day in the afternoon. In the meanwhile another demon Suṣeṇa by name, son of Drimila, came to know of it and having come to Ekāmra from his home in the Vindhya mountain worshipped the same *liṅgam* every day in the afternoon. Finding the offerings disturbed daily, Gokarṇa one day hid himself in the jungle with a great army, but Suṣeṇa too was on his guard and had stationed a similar army there. So there was a great battle between them in which both the demons with their armies were annihilated. Because the *liṅgam* was first established by Gokarṇa, it came to be known as Gokarṇeśvara.

Although the names of the persons given are fanciful, the place-names of the story indicate that the fight described was a fight between a king of Assam (Prāgjyotiṣapurī) and a king of the Vindhya mountain. These kings in the context of the historical facts known to us may be taken as king Bhāskaravarman of Assam, the ally of Harṣavardhana, and the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II. As both the kings were hostile to Śaśāṅka, it is no wonder that they have been described as demons in an orthodox work which has praised Śaśāṅka so much. The word Drimila is a corruption of Dramila or Drāviḍa.[1]

That the Chālukyas occupied Orissa or were in the race for its possession is also evident from another tradition recorded in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*. Chapters XXXIV-XXXVII of this work record an elaborate story about the origin of the name Krittivāsa and of the Devī-pāda-harā Tank which is situated in the close vicinity of the Liṅgarāja temple. This story can never be wholly fictitious, since the names of the persons found in it appear to be either wilful distortions or corruptions of the names of the Chālukya kings that we find from their copperplate grants. The summary of the story is as follows:

There was a king of demons named Mātaṅga and his son was Drimila. Drimila had one hundred sons of whom Prithulomā or Prithula was the eldest and Kīrtti and Vāsa were the strongest. The king Drimila propitiated the Brāhmiṇs and so they conferred on him a boon that his two sons Kīrtti and Vāsa would never be killed by any male human being. The eldest son Prithulomā was very religious, but Kīrtti grew vicious and planned the destruction of his brothers.

[1] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 80.

One day he took his brothers to a forest on the pretext of hunting wild animals, but when they grew tired, hungry and thirsty, he killed ten of them. On a second occasion he took the remaining brothers to the forest and killed ten of them. The process was repeated by him till many of his brothers were killed. When his broken-hearted mother asked him about the whereabouts of his brothers, he gave her an evasive reply. King Ḍrimila suspected Kīrtti of having killed his sons and so he ordered his army to kill him; but although two generals Ugraśarmā and Kuvala fought bravely against him, they were defeated and killed by Kīrtti in the fight in which he was helped by his brother Vāsa. When king Ḍrimila found his generals defeated he and his eldest son Pṛithulomā or Pṛithula pursued Kīrtti and Vāsa with an army and left them at a great distance from their kingdom.

Having been driven away from their father's kingdom, Kīrtti and Vāsa wandered here and there and at last came to Ekāmra which appeared to them to be a most beautiful place. So they resided there. At the time they came to Ekāmra, Pārvatī, according to the desire of Śiva, was living in the guise of a *gopālinī* (milk-maid) and was regularly worshipping the *liṅgam* of the Gosahasreśvara shrine. The two brothers once accidentally met Gopālinī and, having become charmed with her beauty, wanted to make her their wife. Gopālinī at once informed Śiva of the evil intention of the demon brothers. Śiva told her that according to the boon obtained by their father they would not be killed by any male member and so she would render a great service to the gods if she could kill them. He instructed her to request the brothers to carry her on their shoulders and while being carried by them, to press them to death. Śiva's instructions were carried into effect and both demons died being pressed under the feet of Gopālinī. Water sprang up where they died and the spot where they died is now represented by the Devī-pāda-harā Tank.

Now, many of the names given in the story sound like those of the Chālukya kings. As we have already said, the original names have either been hopelessly corrupted, or purposely distorted to suit the exigencies of a mythological story. The corrupted names of the story viz. Mātaṅga, Pṛithulomā or Pṛithula, Kīrtti, Vāsa and Kuvala may respectively be taken to have stood for Maṅgaleśa, Pulakeśin, Kīrttivarman, Viṣṇuvardhana and Kubja or Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. Ḍrimila, as we have already seen, is a corruption of Drāviḍa (Drāvidian) which in a generic sense has been applied to all southerners irrespective of their race or residence. We can hardly expect from a

mythological story the order or chronological sequence in which the Chālukya kings appear in their inscriptions, but these corrupted names indicate that their activities at Ekāmra, when they occupied or attempted to occupy Orissa, descended to posterity as distant echoes which have formed the basis of this mythological story. The evidence of history indicates Orissa as being a centre of conflict between Harṣavardhana and the Chālukyas, apparently after the death of Śasāṅka, and it is not impossible that the Chālukyas might have occupied the country for a time in course of the conflict.

History as well as tradition thus combine to show that the Chālukyas occupied or attempted to occupy Orissa. A further evidence of their contact with this country is provided by the correlation to be noticed in the Kaliṅga and Chālukya schools of art and architecture. Years ago the late Mr M. M. Ganguly, after a study of the temple architecture of Bhubaneswar and of Aihole in the Bijapur district of Bombay, came to a conclusion that the Orissan art of temple-building was transplanted in the Deccan as early as the fifth century A.D. at the latest,[1] but this conclusion has been most unceremoniously criticized and rejected by Prof. R. D. Banerji.[2] However, more definite evidences are now forthcoming to show that, although the Chālukyas came as conquerors, they learnt much from the art and architecture of Orissa. The first of such evidences is to be found in the cave architecture of Bādāmi (not far from Aihole) and of the Udayagiri (near Bhubaneswar). Mr Percy Brown has noticed that the "intricably carved struts made of figures riding hippographs and other compositions of similar fanciful nature" that have been supported by portico pillars of the Mañchapurīgumphā in the Udayagiri hill, are the close prototypes of the brackets "which are a most prominent feature of the Brāhmaṇical rock-cut temples at Bādāmi in Dharwar, produced at least six centuries later."[3] There can be no doubt that the Udayagiri caves being much earlier, the motifs found in them would have been borrowed by the excavators of the Bādāmi caves, which belong to the period of the early Chālukyas as is evidenced by an inscription of Maṅgaleśa occurring in Cave No. III there.[4] The second definite evidence is provided by two closely similar Naṭarāja images (Figs. 114, 115). As already noted, one is now housed in

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 272.
[2] *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 337-8.
[3] *Percy Brown, Indian Architecture* (First Edn.), Hindu and Buddhist, pp. 35, 63.
[4] *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 25 p. 2.

a small temple in the Mukteśvara compound at Bhubaneswar and the other is carved in Cave No. I at Bādāmi.[1] The attributes they have, the manner in which they stand, the poses that they show with their hands and feet, the clothes and ornaments that they wear and the attendants that they have by their sides, are so strikingly similar that we may conclude that one was modelled on the other. These points of correlation cannot have been merely accidental and they indicate strong contacts between the two regions.

From the preceding discussions it will be clear that the beginning of the seventh century was an important epoch in the cultural history of Bhubaneswar. Orissa, while becoming a bone of contention among the great rival powers of the period, contributed all that was best in her culture and also received the same from other parts of India. The results of the clash of cultures are always a compromise. Such a compromise was achieved in Orissa, and Bhubaneswar, the hub of creative activities, bore the stamp of such a compromise in its monuments. The Śaiva temples that came into existence in the seventh century A.D. were predominantly Indo-Aryan in style developing in course of time the indigenous peculiarities. The form of Śaivism that established itself here bore the influence of a cult connected with the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism that had flourishing centres in the north as well as in the south.

While identifying and discussing the cult images of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple in Chapter V, we have shown that the image of Lakulīśa has found a place of honour in the front facade of that monument and that Lakulīśa appears in the sculptures with his four disciples mentioned in the Purāṇas and inscriptions. That they occurred in still earlier temples no longer in existence, is evidenced by the Lakulīśa images to be found in the Bhāratī Maṭha and in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves. Prominence given to his images in the earliest temples leads us to believe that these shrines were in some way connected with the Pāśupata sect which Lakulīśa founded in about the first century A.D.[2] This belief gains ground from the fact that some of the earliest temples were named after the famous teachers of this sect. The name Paraśurāmeśvara was certainly not the original name of that temple, as is evident from an inscription appearing on the southern door of its *Jagamohana*. This inscription which has been edited

[1] *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 25, p.2.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 7.

by Mr A. Ghosh,[1] records the donation of two *āḍhakas* of rice[2] made by one Pramadāchārya to be first given as an offering to Pārāsaśvara Bhaṭṭaka and then distributed among ascetics and others. The script used is Nāgarī and the epigraph on palaeographical grounds can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D. Pārāsaśvara is nodoubt the name of the deity inside the temple for whom the donation was made and this fact proves that up till the eleventh century, the temple was known as Pārāsaśvara and not Paraśurāmeśvara which is a later corruption or invention. As Mr Ghosh has rightly pointed out, the name Pārāsaśvara was most likely a corruption of Pārāsareśvara. We have thus reasons to believe that the temple was originally named after the Pāśupata teacher Pārāśara, mentioned in the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II as a successor of Kuśika, one of the four disciples of Lakulī.[3] The naming of shrines after the names of the dead teachers was an established custom of the Pāśupata sect.[4]

The second notable temple that was named after a Pāśupata teacher is that of Kapileśvara. We have already seen that the present temple of Kapileśvara represents an older one which might have been earlier to or at least a contemporary of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Kapila being one of the successors of Kuśika, a disciple of Lakulī, who established a line of Pāśupata teachers at Mathura,[5] we may reasonably trace the origin of the Kapileśvara shrine to the Pāśupata sect. The name Kapila is connected not with only a temple but also with a work known as *Kapila-saṁhitā*, one of the four Sanskrit texts that profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar. With a view to give it a more authoritative form, the authorship of this work has been attributed to Kapila who, judging from its contents, should be taken as the Pāśupata teacher mentioned in the Mathura Pillar inscription, and not as the author of the *Sāṁkhya*. The name of another temple, Mitreśvara which stands in the close vicinity of the Yameśvara temple, has also been derived from Mitra who was one of the four disciples of Lakulī.

The names of the temples have changed from time to time and some names have disappeared with the disappearance of the temples; nevertheless, the lists of shrines given in the orthodox works, which were intended as pilgrims' guides, contain a few more names which

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 126 ff.
[2] *Āḍhaka* or *aḍhā* as a measurement is still in prevalence in some parts of Orissa and it is equivalent to 192 standard seers.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-6.
[4] Ibid. p. 5.
[5] Ibid. p. 1 ff.

were certainly derived from those of the famous Pāśupata teachers. The lists contained in the 28th chapter of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* and in the 64th chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* include Nakulīśvara, Nakuleśvara and Iśāneśvara as the names of the temples which were derived from Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, and Iśāna, the sixth commentator of the *Pāśupata Sūtras*.[1] Narasiṁha Bājapeyī, the author of *Nityāchāra Pradipa*, who was a native of Orissa, mentions a temple at Ekāmra, known as Gargeśvara, quoting the *Skanda Purāṇa* as his authority.[2] The name of this temple was also derived from Garga, the second disciple of Lakulī.

It will thus appear that the name of Lakulī and those of some famous teachers of his sect were connected with the earlier shrines and one orthodox work. Besides, the oldest *maṭha* of the place still follows a custom which was observed by the followers of the Pāśupata sect. As Dr D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out, it was a practice with the sect to set up a *liṅgam* to represent a dead teacher, and to erect a temple for it. The same practice is still being followed in the Bhāratī Maṭha of Bhubaneswar, as a result of which a *gurvāyatana* has sprung up within its compound.[3] There are now as many as fifteen miniature temples of sand-stone and laterite, each of which contains a *liṅgam* (Fig. 131). Besides, a number of *liṅgams* are to be found in the open space and the niches made in the temples and if credence is given to the statement of the present Mahanta of the *Maṭha*, many more still lie buried in the kitchen garden. It is difficult to ascertain their exact number, but it may be taken to be fairly large. Since each of the *liṅgams* represents a generation of teachers, we may reasonably conclude that the origin of the *Maṭha* goes back to the time of the earliest standing temples. This conclusion gains ground from a tradition mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* that Yama, the builder of the Yameśvara temple, gave a splendid *maṭha* to a Pāśupatāchārya who lived in the close vicinity of the temple. The present temple of Yameśvara situated opposite the Bhāratī

[1] *Pasupata Sutras*, edited by Ananthakrishna Sastri, University of Trivandrum, 1940, Introduction, p. 1.

[2] *Bibliotheca Indica* published by the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, 1908, No. 1194, p. 559.

[3] According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mathura Pillar inscription, Uditāchārya set up two *liṅgams* to represent his teachers Upamita and Kapila when they were dead (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff), but according to Dr. D. C. Sircar's interpretation of the same inscription, the *liṅgams* were set up when the teachers were living (*Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1942, pp. 271-5). Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation accords with the practice still followed in the Bhāratī Maṭha of Bhubaneswar.

Maṭha is a monument of the Gaṅga period, but as we have already seen, it represents an earlier shrine and still contains the lower portion of an earlier temple which may be taken to be a contemporary of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar (Fig. 29).

Although the influence of the Pāśupata sect can thus be traced on the earliest shrines of Bhubaneswar, it is difficult to say whether it came from Kāyārohaṇa, Somnātha or Mathurā which are yet known to have been the earliest centres of the sect. The names of the successors of Kuśika, the disciple of Lakulī, who established a branch at Mathurā, are found connected with the two early shrines of the place, Pārāśareśvara and Kapileśvara, and with one orthodox text, viz. *Kapilasaṁhitā*. Kāyārohaṇa, identified with Kārvān in Baroda *Prānt* of the now-defunct Baroda State, was included in the Chālukya dominions and a few points of correlation between the Chālukyan and Kaliṅgan schools of art and architecture have already been pointed out.

At any rate, the cult was in its full vigour and Lakulī and his disciples were still in the memory of the people, when it came to Bhubaneswar. This is evident from the accurate number of the disciples represented in the images of Lakulī and the names of the famous Pāśupata teachers connected with the earlier shrines. As it was a practice with the Pāśupatas to set up *liṅgams* to represent their dead teachers, this practice seems to have led to the setting up of innumerable Śiva *liṅgams* at Ekāmra, which the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the allied works represent as ten millions or ten millions less by one (*ekonakoṭi*). The numerous images of Lakuliśa still to be found at Bhubaneswar, enable us to trace the changed conceptions about him and his disciples in the later periods (Figs. 125-128). The different types of his images that we have discussed and illustrated in Chapter VIII, show that in the earlier specimens, his disciples appear as youthful figures but in the later representations, as old, bearded and emaciated ones. In the latest evolutionary form, Lakulī appears as a four-handed deity with some of the attributes of Śiva but that he and his disciples continued to be considered as teachers or preachers, is indicated by the books held by the disciples in all specimens and by Lakulī himself in his latest representation. The later builders of the Bhubaneswar temples had a fair knowledge of the cult, which they have shown not only in the representations of Lakulī and his disciples but also of the famous expounders of the cult. The famous commentators of the Pāśupata Tantras were eighteen viz. 1. Nakulīśa,

2. Kauśika, 3. Gārgya, 4. Maitreya, 5. Kaurusha, 6. Iśāna, 7. Parāgārgya, 8. Kapilaṇḍa, 9. Manushyaka, 10. Kuśika, 11. Atri, 12. Piṅgala, 13. Puṣpaka, 14. Bṛihadārya, 15. Agasti, 16. Sanātana, 17. Rāsikara (Kauṇḍinya) and 18. Vidyāguru.[1] These commentators appear in two panels of sculptures, one on the lintels of the Marichīkuṇḍa in the Mukteśvara temple and the other on the *Jagamohana* of the Rājarāṇī (Figs. 129-130). That Ekāmra continued to attract the followers of the Pāśupata sect up to a late period, is evident from the inscription of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple referred to above, wherein the donor Pramada styles himself as an *āchārya*, a title which has been given in the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II to the living Pāśupata teacher Udita, the tenth successor of Kuśika.[2] It is most probable that Pramada was a Pāśupata teacher.

We have already seen that on some festive occasions the movable images of the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara (Liṅgarāja) are taken to the temples of Rāmeśvara (situated near the Aśoka Jhara tank) and Bhāskareśvara which contain the remnants of Aśokan pillars and which seem to have represented ones of the earliest shrines of the place. The shrines, that had come into existence before the shrine of the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara became supreme or that were contemporaneous with it, have up till now been receiving homage from the presiding deity of the place. Chapters LXVIII-LXIX of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and Chapters XX-XXIV of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* give a full description of the festivals of the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara when his movable images are taken to different temples. According to this description on the day of *Māgha Śukla Saptamī*, they are to be carried to the temple of Bhāskareśvara; on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* when *Aśokāṣṭamī* occurs, they are to be taken to Aśoka Jhara (near the Rāmeśvara); on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the same month when the *Madanabhañjikā* festival occurs, they are to go to the Koṭitīrtheśvara shrine; on the 8th day of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha* when *Paraśurāmāṣṭamī* occurs, they are to move to the Paraśurāmeśvara shrine; and on the second day of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika* when *Yama-dvitīyā* occurs, they are to be carried to the temple of Yameśvara. It is enjoined that on all these festive occasions, the movable images of the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara and his family members are to be taken in a palanquin except on the day of *Asokāṣṭamī* when they are to be carried in a chariot. In all

[1] *Pasupata Sutras*, edited by A. Sastri, University of Trivandrum.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.

the temples, except the Koṭitīrtheśvara to which the movable images are carried, we have been able to discover archaeological evidences, already discussed, to show that the shrines represented by them are either earlier to, or contemporaneous with the shrine of Tribhuvaneśvara or Liṅgarāja. It is noteworthy that out of fourteen festivals annually observed in the Liṅgarāja temple, the first two are connected with the shrines that contain the remnants of Aśokan pillars, and indicate an order of antiquity in which a preference has been given to the older shrines. Since from among numerous temples of Bhubaneswar a few have been selected to receive special honour on festive occasions, it is reasonable to hold that the festivals are intended as courtesy visits of the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara to his older and contemporary deities.

Bhubaneswar under the Śailodbhavas

There are evidences to show that by the middle of the seventh century the Śailodbhavas of Koṅgoda (Ganjam) asserted their independence and grew very powerful. While the Ganjam Plates[1] of Mādhavarāja II mention Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka as his overlord, his Khurda Plates[2] omit all reference to an overlord and this may indicate that he had become independent at the time of issuing this document. The accounts of Yuan Chwang, who visited the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas, furnish us with the evidences that their fort was naturally strong and that they maintained a strong army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe.[3] The successors of Mādhavarāja II are credited with the conquest of the neighbouring countries and with the performance of the *Aśvamedha* and the *Vājapeya* sacrifices.[4] The discovery of the Śailodbhava copper-plates from Khurda, situated in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, and from Pārikud in the Puri district, indicates that Bhubaneswar was included in the Śailodbhava kingdom, but we do not know whether any of the Śailodbhava rulers was a builder of any of the temples here. All that can be said with certainty is that the temples of the Paraśurāmeśvara group belong to the period of their rule.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
[2] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), pp. 282-8.
[3] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 139-40.
[4] *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 71.

BHUBANESWAR UNDER THE BHAUMA-KARAS

The next dynasty that occupied Bhubaneswar, was certainly that of the Bhauma-karas. Two inscriptions, one in the Gaṇeśagumphā of the Udayagiri hill and the second in an artificial cave in the Dhauligiri hill, which refer themselves to the reign of the Bhauma-kara king Śāntikara, clearly testify their occupation of the place.[1] The chronology of the Bhauma-kara kings has not been settled beyond doubt, because it is still disputable whether the years of an unspecified era recorded in their copper-plate grants are to be referred to the Harṣa era of A.D. 606 or any other. Since these years, when referred to the Harṣa era, do not conflict with the palaeography of the Bhauma-kara inscriptions and other known evidences, the use of that era by the rulers of the dynasty has been postulated by Dr D. R. Bhandarkar and Pandit B. Misra.[2] Pandit Misra has also tried to establish a synchronism by identifying Rājamalla mentioned in the Dhenkanal Plate, as the father of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, with Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty of the south.[3] But this synchronism is now untenable, because, in a Bhauma copper-plate recently discovered from Baudh, which is being edited by Mr S. C. De in *Epigraphia Indica*, Tribhuvana-mahādevī is distinctly stated to be the daughter of Svabhāva-tuṅga of the lunar race, king of Kośala. There is one very strong reason why the years of the Bhauma plates should not be referred to the Harṣa era. The Dhauli Cave Inscription[4] begins with "*Śrī-Sāntikaradeva-rājya-saṁvat 93*" which means that the year 93 has been recorded in the *rājya saṁvat* of Śrī Śāntikaradeva. The word *rājya* cannot be taken to refer to the reign of Śāntikara, because 93 years will be absurdly long for the regnal period of one king. The possibility, therefore, is that the year has to be counted from the date of the foundation of the dynasty to which Śāntikara belonged.

Although it can thus be shown that the years of the Bhauma inscriptions are recorded in an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty, it is difficult to determine the exact date from which it started. There are, however, strong grounds to think that the Bhauma-kara

[1] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 10-11.
[2] Ibid. pp. 72-4.
[3] Ibid. *Rājamalla* of the Dhenkanal Plate simply means "the best of the kings". We find the same expression used in the sense of "the best of the kings" with reference to Dharmaratha in verse 6 of the Brahmeśvara Inscription. *Tasmin gate divamaputriṇi rājamalle*, (*J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII, p. 69).
[4] Misra, op. cit. pp. 10-11.

kingdom could not have been founded before Saśāṅka. He was the overlord of the territory as far as Koṅgoda up till A.D. 619. The combined evidences furnished by C and D of the Soro copper-plates[1] and the two Midnapore copper-plates[2] show that the governors were ruling over Oḍra *viṣaya* (Orissa) and Daṇḍakabhukti (Midnapore) and his governor of Orissa was granting villages situated in the Seraphāhāra-viṣaya (identified with Soro of the Balasore district *comprised* within Oḍra *viṣaya* (Orissa). It is highly improbable that the Bhauma kingdom could have existed at this time with its main centre at Virajā or modern Jājpur which is not far from Soro. Besides, Bhānudatta, who has been taken by Dr R. C. Mazumdar to be the last of Saśāṅka's governors ruling over Utkala and Daṇḍakabhukti,[3] actually issued the grant D of the Soro Plates from a place which has been read as Virañjā,[4] most likely a mistake for Virajā, that became the capital of the Bhauma-karas. So it is almost impossible to think that the Bhauma-karas could have established a kingdom in Orissa with its centre at Virajā or Jājpur so long as Saśāṅka was the overlord of it.

Since Saśāṅka was the overlord of Orissa at least up to A.D. 619,[5] we shall have to look for a date for the foundation of the Bhauma kingdom, that will come after it. Most likely on the death of Saśāṅka the Śailodbhavas assumed their independence. As the testimony of Yuan Chwang indicates, the Śailodbhavas were strong in the south of Orissa and might have extended their power in the north. But they do not seem to have continued for a long time. The details of Harṣa's Orissan expedition in A.D. 643 are not known. But this expedition led to a period of turmoil and it is possible that this gave the Bhaumakaras an opportunity to establish an independent kingdom in Orissa. From another computation, Mr S. C. De has also come to the conclusion that the Bhauma era was started from A.D. 643.[6]

If the epoch of the Bhauma era, as suggested by us, is taken to be correct, Bhubaneswar must have been occupied by the Bhauma-karas before A.D. 736, because the Dhauli Cave Inscription, referred to above, records the year 93 that falls within reign of Śāntikara I.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197 ff.
[2] J.R.A.S.B., Vol. XI, (1945), pp. 1-9.
[3] Ibid. p. 5.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.
[5] Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 143-6.
[6] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 73.

The occupation of the place also must have continued up to the end of the dynasty, for, the territories of Daṇḍīmahādevī, the last famous ruler of the dynasty, extended as far as Ganjam as is evidenced by her copper-plate grants.[1] Since the last date mentioned in Daṇḍīmahādevī's plate is 187 (A.D. 830)[2] we may hold that Bhubaneswar was ruled by the Bhauma-karas for a period of about a hundred years which witnessed the erection of the Vaitāl-Śisireśvara group of temples.

No Bhauma inscription is found on any of the temples at Bhubaneswar. The traditions current here are also silent about them. The reason for this silence seems to be that this period introduced certain new elements into Śaivism, which must have been revolting to the orthodox Śaivas. It was during this period that we find Tāntrism mixed up with Śaivism. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which fostered Tāntrism was the dominant form of religion in this period. We have shown in Chapter III that several centres and innumerable relics of this religion can be traced in various parts of Orissa. We have also shown in the same chapter how the Bhauma artists have introduced Buddhist images and motifs into the Śaiva temple of Śiśireśvara. It is during this period that Śāktism first made its appearance in Bhubaneswar. The Vaitāl temple, the first Śākta shrine, shows in its sculptures a strange amalgamation of Śāktism, Śaivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. While the presiding deity of the temple is a Chāmuṇḍā, it bears such Śaiva images as Hara-Pārvatī, Arddha-nārīśvara, Harihara, Lakulīśa, Vīrabhadra, Bhairava and Gajāntakārī-mūrti, and such Tāntrik-Mahāyāna images as Amoghasiddhi, the female deity holding a lily in the right hand, the male deity with the head of a boar and some other goddesses which appear on the outside walls which the present writer has been unable to identify (Figs. 132, 126, 90-93). During this period four other Śākta shrines also sprang up on the four sides of the Vindusarovara. We have already seen in Chapter IX that the temples of Mohinī and Uttareśvara situated on the south and north banks of the tank, contain Chāmuṇḍās, and the shrines on its east and west banks contain Mahiṣamardinīs. This accords with the description given in the seventeenth chapter of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* that four Chaṇḍikās are enshrined on the four sides of the tank. Two other images of Chāmuṇḍā are now

[1] B. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 18, and also see his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 59-64.
[2] Ibid. pp. 60. ff.

found enshrined in the modern temples, one situated on the bank of the Gaṅgua and known as the Bhuāsuṇī temple and the other, a miniature modern temple, near the house of Mr Satyapriya Mahanti. All these images bear the characteristics of the same age, and they are all depicted in terrific forms with sunken bellies, emaciated and sinewy bodies garlanded with skulls and seated on corpses with jackals by their sides. It is to be noted that among the temples of the preceding group none contains a Chāmuṇḍā or any other image of the Śakti cult as a presiding deity, and in the succeeding groups there are Śākta temples which contain Śakti images as presiding deities not in their terrific forms, but in their pacific forms. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that Śāktism first made its appearance at Bhubaneswar during this period and began its existence alongside the main cult viz. Śaivism.

The name Vaitāl, now given to one of the earliest temples of this period, is not be found in any of the orthodox texts. This name, as we have already said, has been derived from the word *vetāla* or spirit with the help of which the Kāpālikas and the Tāntrikas wanted to attain their *siddhis*. It is distinctly stated in Chapter XXVII of the *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* that "the venerable goddess Chāmuṇḍā garlanded with skulls exists at a spot on the west not far from the tank (i.e. Vindusarovara)," and that "she is of terrific form and is known as Kāpālinī." Evidently the shrine of Vaitāl is referred to in this passage. Other texts also describe her as Kāpālinī and not as Kapālinī. Śiva in his terrific form is known as Kapālin whom the Kāpālikas, otherwise known as Kāpālins or Kāpālas, worship. The name Kāpālinī seems therefore to have been derived from Kāpālin but not Kapālin. Although the Kāpālikas represented themselves as the followers of Śiva, very often the deity of their worship was a Chāmuṇḍā. Act V of the *Mālatī-Mādhava* drama of Bhavabhūti provides us with the information that a Kāpālin (Kāpālika), Aghoraghaṇṭa by name, wanted to sacrifice to Chāmuṇḍā the noble lady Mālatī who had been procured for the purpose by his terrible female disciple Kapālakuṇḍalā. From the *Parśvanātha-charita* we get the information that "Kali praises a Kāpālika who is ever collecting skulls for her, and is just about to achieve the 108th skull by whose means she is to fulfil her purpose."[1] These works thus prove that the Kāpālikas used to sacrifice human beings to the goddess Kālī or Chāmuṇḍā. The

[1] *Journal of Kalinga Hist. Research Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 237 ff.

story of Kanakalekhā in the *Dasakumāra-charita* and that of Ratnachandra in the *Mallinātha-charitra* also show how innocent and beautiful women were being sacrificed by the Kāpālikas.[1] Vādirāja-sūrī in his *Yaśodhara-kāvya* describes the preparation of a Kāpālika for the sacrifice of two pretty little children who had been procured for the purpose.[2] It is most likely, as we have already pointed out, that the sacrifice of human beings and other animals was resorted to in the temple of Kāpālinī (the Vaitāl) at Bhubaneswar and that the lower portion of the stone pillar that we still find in front of its door, is the remnant of a *yūpa*. Unlike the cellas of other temples, where light and shade intermingle to create a serene atmosphere, the sanctum of the Vaitāl is intensely dark. Darkness is no doubt an outcome of an altogether different ground plan that has been followed in this temple. The seriousness of the awful esoteric rites that were once performed here, must have been heightened by the darkness of the cella and by the presence of some images in their most terrific forms. Among the terrific figures carved on the inner walls, occurs a Bhairava depicted in the most hideous and terrific form that human imagination can ever conceive (Fig. 92). This image might have been another deity of worship, for the Kāpālikas take Bhairava to be the creator, protector and destroyer of the world and believe that all other gods are subservient to him.[3] The above discussion will show that the Vaitāl was a shrine of the Kāpālikas.

Śaivism, Śaktism and Tāntrism seem to have been inseparably mixed up and formed a strange amalgam during this period. Indeed in the early Medieval Period such a state of things came to pass in the field of religion not only in Orissa, but also in all other parts of India, and scholars believe that the followers of different sects followed almost the same tracks. Mr D. C. Sastri observes: "It appears that the Lokāyatikas, the Vāmadevas, the Śiṣṇadevas, the Kāpālikas, the Kālamukhas, the Aghorīs, the Vāmāchārins, the Sahajiyās and the Tāntrikas all walk along the same track with slight difference."[4] About the beliefs of the Kāpālikas, Rāmānuja comments: "thus the Kāpālas say 'He who knows the true nature of the six *mudrās*, who understands the highest *mudrā*, meditating upon himself as in the position called *bhagāsana*, reaches *Nirvāṇa*."[5] We have seen that

[1] *Journal of Kalinga Hist. Research Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 237 ff.
[2] T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 29.
[3] Ibid. p. 27.
[4] *Ind. Hist., Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 130 ff.
[5] T. A. Gopinath Rao. op. cit. pp. 25-6.

obscene sculptures make their appearance for the first time on the temples of this period and it is not impossible that the obscene figures came to be carved on the religious edifices, partly due to the Tāntrikas and partly to the Kāpālikas, both of whom have this strange philosophy about sex. There are some subtle distinctions between the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas, though some competent authorities like Rāmānuja place them in one category.[1] But such revolting practices as wearing skulls, drinking, howling, sacrificing human beings, eating food in human skulls and keeping alight sacrificial fire with the brains and lungs of men, in which the Kāpālikas indulge, make them an extreme sect of Śaivism. It is this extreme sect that gained ascendency during the Bhauma supremacy and have left the indelible marks of their practice and faith on the temples and sculptures of the period.

BHUBANESWAR DURING THE PERIOD OF DISUNITY IN ORISSA

We do not exactly know when the Bhauma period ended and the Keśarī or Somavaṁśī period began. According to our determination of the Bhauma era, Daṇḍīmahādevī, the last great ruler of the Bhauma-kara dynasty, would have ruled at least up to A.D. 830, for her Kumuraṅgā Plate[2] mentions the year 187. Two other female rulers who ruled after her, were her elder relatives[3] and could not have had long regnal periods. Thus, the Bhaumas as the sovereign rulers seem to have ceased to exist by the middle of the ninth century. But according to the chronology fixed by Dr D. C. Sircar and accepted by us in Chapter III, the reign of Janamejaya, the first Somavaṁśī king of Orissa, ended in about A.D. 950 and it is towards the close of his reign that he conquered Orissa. So we get a period of roughly one hundred years when Orissa apparently had no sovereign power. It seems that after the break-up of the Bhauma kingdom, Orissa was divided into a number of small principalities, each ruled by a chief of its own. Such political chaos in Orissa of the 9th century is suggested by Tāranātha's accounts.[4] The identity of the Orissan king who is said to have been killed with a *kunta* by Janamejaya,[5] is not known, but he cannot be taken to be a Bhauma ruler, because after

[1] T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 25-6.
[2] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 60 ff.
[3] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, No. 1, No. XXI, p. 215.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 360-9.
[5] *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1947), p. 68.

Dharmmā-mahādevī, one of the two immediate successors of Daṇḍī-mahādevī, we cannot trace the existence of this dynasty.[1] The Bhauma kingdom seems to have perished partly due to internal dissensions and due to a foreign invasion which has been referred to in the *Mādalā Pāñji* as the Raktavāhu invasion.[2] The *Pāñji* also speaks of a period of anarchy lasting for 146 years that followed the Raktavāhu invasion.[3] During this period of disunity, no notable temple seems to have been built at Bhubaneswar, but we have referred in Chapter IX to some temples such as the Mohinī, the Uttareśvara and some other structures standing in the midst of houses in the town. These temples are plain, but they bear the impress of certain characteristics which might be associated with the tradition connected with the Bhaumas. It seems that art and architecture declined after the Bhauma supremacy and these simple examples were the products of the period of disunity.

Bhubaneswar under the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī Kings

The Bhauma-karas contributed their best to the growth of art and architecture not only of Bhubaneswar, but also of Orissa, but it is surprising that they all passed into oblivion. There is not a single tradition in the country, which connects any of the known rulers of the dynasty with any of its numerous existing monuments at Bhubaneswar. The reasons for the lack of traditions about them seem to be, as we have already said, that they professed a mixed form of religion and that they were of low origin, possibly the aboriginal Bhūyāns.[4] So they would have been looked down upon by the orthodox priesthood which has been the repository of all traditions about religious monuments. Besides, the term *Keśarī* now taken by scholars to be a title of the Somavaṁśī kings alone, seems to have been a common popular title for both the Somavaṁśīs and the other royal dynasties of Orissa preceding the Gaṅgas. The word *Keśari* has indeed become a household name in Orissa, and is referred to in connexion with numerous existing monuments irrespective of their age. In Bhubaneswar the priests attribute all the temples to the agency of the Keśarīs. The *Mādalā Pāñji* gives a list of 65 names who are supposed to have belonged to the Keśarī dynasty. Apparently all these kings could not have belonged to the Somavaṁśī dynasty. Among the names of

1 *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 216.
2 Prāchī Edition, p. 4; also see Stirling's *An Account of Orissa*, p. 68.
3 Ibid.
4 Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 81 ff.

the Somavaṁśī kings, known from inscriptions, there is only one which ends in *Keśarī*, viz. Uddyotakeśari. The possibility, therefore, is that kings of other Orissan dynasties were also popularly known as *Keśarīs*. Among the names of the Bhauma-kara rulers known from their copper-plate records, there is a king who bears a title that can be interpreted as Keśarī, viz. Unmaṭa-siṁha.[1] From the Chinese sources we also get the name of a king of the same dynasty, which might have ended with *Keśarī*, because it has been given in Chinese as "one who does what is pure, the lion," which is generally taken to have stood for Śubhākarakeśarī.[2] In the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, Prakaṭāditya is said to have defeated one Pañchakeśarī and uprooted the Siṁha dynasty. Mr K. P. Jayaswal rightly takes this king and the dynasty as those of Orissa.[3] In the Tibetan version of the same work, there is also a reference to one Keśarī who is represented to have become king contemporaneously with Soma (Śaśāṅka).[4] These evidences go to show that *Keśarī* was a general title applied to all kings of Orissa before the Gaṅga supremacy. There were also a few other kings of Orissa, who are found in the inscriptions with the title *Keśarī* viz. Vīrakeśarī[5] and Raṇakeśarī.[6] One Karṇakeśarī has also been referred to in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī.[7] The exact relationship of these kings with the Bhauma-karas or with the Somavaṁśīs is not yet definitely known. The paucity of this title in the official documents, even of the Somavaṁśīs to whom the title is usually applied, indicates that in spite of its wide popularity, the title was not officially recognized, except at a later period. But from stray evidences, referred to above, it appears that the title was generally applied to the kings of Orissa even as early as the seventh century A.D.

The title *Keśarī* thus appears to have been used with reference to the pre-Gaṅga kings of Orissa irrespective of the families to which they belonged, and the popular traditions have created confusion about the kings bearing the same title and grouped them under a single

1 Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 71.
2 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 147-8.
3 *An Imperial History of India*, p. 65.
4 Ibid. p. 66. 5 *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. VI, p. 570.
6 Misra, op. cit. p. 74. and Plate. The Govindpur Fragmentary Stone Inscription in which Pandit Misra finds the name of Raṇakeśarī and the year 811, has not been correctly deciphered. The correct reading of the text is:

Śry-Udyotakesa (śa)rī-devasya vijaya-rājye
āmīyaṁ khoditaṁpusaka (puṣka) riṇaṁ [1*]

"In the victorious reign of Śrī Uddyotakeśarīdeva (this) nectar-like tank was excavated". It is thus an inscription of Udyotakeśarī and not of Raṇakeśarī.
7 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 162, 161, fn. 1.

dynasty known to us as Keśarī-vaṁśa from the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri. It is thus that the traditions attributed almost all monuments of Orissa to their agency. It has, however, been the task of critical scholarship to distinguish and extricate fact from fiction and history from tradition. But in the case of Orissan history, the process has so far been entirely otherwise. One class of scholars have taken the late traditions contained in the *Mādalā Pāñji* to be genuine historical facts, while another class have rejected them *en masse* without close examination. While the early scholars like Stirling[1] and Hunter[2] based their knowledge of Orissan history on the palm-leaf records of Puri, the later scholars like R. Chanda[3] and R. D. Banerji[4] have scarcely given them the attention they deserve. The pioneers of Orissan history like Stirling and Hunter had no doubt their own difficulties, because other sources were not available to them. But since they wrote their works, a very large number of inscriptions relating to Orissan history have come to light. Yet many of the local scholars of Orissa still continue to base their knowledge of history on the dates and facts given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* without an attempt to reconcile them with the more certain and reliable sources, such as inscriptions, coins, art and architecture; and what is more surprising, they serve these facts and dates to the general public and students in general works, official publications and text-books. History and chronology have thus been in the wilderness in Orissa, the outside scholars scarcely recognizing the *Mādalā Pāñji* as a reliable source of history, while most of the local scholars taking it to be an authentic history. Our knowledge of the Somavaṁśīs or Keśarīs and their monuments at Bhubaneswar will never be clear or precise, unless we make an attempt, within the limited scope of this work, to explain the character of the *Mādalā Pāñji* and reconcile a few of the traditions contained in it with the known facts of Orissan history.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* is not a history, but a traditional work, and like most traditions, is likely to have some historical substratum, though hidden under a mass of popular myths and legends. Orissa has been fortunate in preserving not only many of her historical monuments, but also many of the historical traditions. The earli r historical

[1] *An Account (Geographical, Statistical, and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, reprinted from the original edition of 1822, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904, pp. 66 ff.
[2] *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 200-01 and Vol. II, Appendix VII, pp. 183-91.
[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10 ff.
[4] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 109 ff. and p. 219.

traditions are found in Sanskrit works such as the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the *Svarṇṇādri Mahodaya*, the *Ekāmra Chandrikā*, the *Kapila-saṁhitā*, the *Purusottama-mahātmya* and the *Virajā-mahātmya* and the later ones are contained in the *Māḍalā Pāñji* and the allied works written in archaic Oriya. We have seen in the earlier part of this chapter how the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the allied works contain genuine historical traditions, authenticated by known historical facts, about a violent conflict between the Bauddhas and the Śaivas, about Śaśāṅka, the early Chālukya kings and a king of Prāgjyotiṣapurī (Assam). The Sanskrit works have, however, spoken only of the events of hoary antiquity and have passed over what appeared to them to be of recent occurrence. So the task of recording the later traditions has fallen on the works written in *bhāṣā* or local language. The *Mādalā Pāñji* is one of such works and it begins with the traditional history of Orissa exactly from the point where the Sanskrit works leave it. In the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* the traditional history ends with Śaśāṅka and the early Chālukya kings who flourished in the seventh century A.D., but in the *Mādalā Pāñji* it begins with the kings of the Somavaṁśa which preceded the Keśarī-vaṁśa. The accounts that have been given in the *Pāñji* of the pre-Somavaṁśa kings are of mythological character, because they include such names as Veṇu, Māndhātā, Dilipa, Yudhiṣṭhira etc, who have been assigned the reign-periods of thousands of years.

The succession of the royal dynasties ruling in Orissa as given in the *Pāñji*, represents the Somavaṁśa to be the first, which was followed by the Keśarī-vaṁśa after a period of anarchy lasting for 146 years, caused by the Raktavāhu invasion that took place in the reign of Subhanadeva, a Somavaṁśa king. The Keśarī-vaṁśa was followed by the Gaṅgavaṁśa which was superseded by the dynasty established by Kapilendradeva. Kapilendra's dynasty was put to an end by the Bhoi-vaṁśa. So far as dynastic succession is concerned, the *Mādalā Pāñji* thus makes no mistake whatsoever except that it represents the Somavaṁśa kings as the predecessors of the Keśarī-vaṁśa, whereas from epigraphical records we find the Bhauma kings to be the predecessors of the so-called Keśarī or Somavaṁśī kings. There can be no doubt that the Somavaṁśa of the *Pāñji* is a corruption of or a mistake for the Bhauma-vaṁśa of the epigraphic records. We shall show later on that this supposition is correct, because the so-called Somavaṁśa of the *Pāñji* contains some corrupted names of the Bhauma kings found from copper-plate grants, and because in

the history of Orissa a long period of disunity or anarchy intervenes only between the Bhauma and Keśarī or Somavaṁśi dynasties. We have already spoken of this period of disunity which has also correctly found mention in the *Pāñji*.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* however makes serious mistakes in detailed chronology by changing the order of kings, by giving fantastic lengths to some of the reigns, by assigning absurdly early dates to the pre-Gaṅga dynasties, by inventing or corrupting the names of some kings and by incorporating the local kings into the main dynasties. The reasons for such mistakes can be ascertained as far as possible. The *Pāñji* compiled the traditions at a time when, having long been orally handed down, they had been much corrupted. The *Pāñji* could not have been compiled before the Mughal period because in connexion with the earliest invasion recorded by it, it uses the word Mughal and also such words as *Amurā* (Amir) *Pātisā* (*Patsa*) and *Zamindar*[1] which could not have come into use in Orissa before its first occupation by the Muslims in A.D. 1568. While discussing the date of the Mukteśvara in Chapter IX, we have also shown that it has lost 300 years in computing the date of that temple and consequently it has been forced to adopt various devices to make up for this huge loss. The number of the Keśarī kings had to be increased so that this loss could be made up. In fact, the fictitious character of many of the kings grouped under the so-called Keśarī dynasty of the *Pāñji*, is apparent from their very names. Some of these names have no doubt been derived from the names of the dynasties, e.g. Gaṅga Keśarī, Bhauma Keśarī; some from the names of the countries, e.g. Kośala Keśarī; and some from the names of the living monuments, e.g. Chaṇḍa Keśarī, Gokarṇa Keśarī, Varāha Keśarī and Paraśu Keśari.[2] The list of the Keśarī kings, as given by Hunter in his Orissa, Vol. II, also does not tally with the lists of the same kings to be found in different versions of the *Mādalā Pāñji* that can be traced at present and this fact indicates that the lists are ever increasing. The late Mr Jagabandhu Siṁha in his *Prāchīna Utkala* includes, on the authority of the *Mādalā Pāñji* such names in the Keśarī dynasty, as Śiśupāla Keśarī and Sāraṅga Keśarī which have obviously been derived from the well-known monuments of Orissa, namely

[1] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī Edition) pp. 4, 10. From the internal evidences found from the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Mr. R. Chanda also concludes that it could not have been compiled before the Mughal period, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10 ff.

[2] Ibid. pp. 1-6.

Śiśupālagarh and Sāraṅga Garh having altogether different histories of their own. We need not speak much about the detailed chronology adopted in this traditional work, because we have already given in Chapter IX an instance of an absurdly early date that has been assigned to the founder of the Keśarī dynasty.

Notwithstanding these defects, the *Pāñji* preserves a substratum of historical truth in the numerous traditions which require careful examination. The first historical dynasty has been mentioned in the *Pāñji* as the Somavaṁśa which, as we have already said, is a corruption of or a mistake for the Bhauma-vaṁśa of the epigraphical records. This supposition is correct, because we know from the epigraphic records that the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī kings succeeded the Bhaumavaṁśa, but not the Somavaṁśa. This order of dynastic succession has also been correctly given in the *Pāñji*. Besides, under the Somavaṁśa, the *Pāñji* gives such names as Tribhuvanadeva, Śobhana or Śubhanadeva and Chandrakaradeva,[1] which may be identified with Tribhuvana-mahādevī, Śubhākaradeva and Śivakaradeva or Śantikaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty known from the epigraphic records.[2] There is no doubt that the names of the earliest historical kings mentioned in the *Pāñji* had become hopelessly corrupted when it came to be compiled in the sixteenth century. The *Pāñji* also correctly records a period of disunity or anarchy intervening between the Bhaumavaṁśa[3] (mistakenly called Somavaṁśa) and the Keśarīvaṁśa.

The next dynasty given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* is the Keśarīvaṁśa identified by scholars with the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Kośala and Utkala with which we are more concerned here. Although the *Pāñji* has given a large number of names under this dynasty for reasons already stated, almost all the principal kings of the historical Somavaṁśi dynasty known from inscriptions find mention in it. The following table will bring out the correlation of history and tradition,

[1] Ibid. pp. 4-5.

[2] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 71.

[3] For the latest list of the Somavaṁśī Keśarī kings found from epigraphic records, see Dr D. C. Sircar's article in *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-07; and for the list of the Keśarī kings see the *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prachi Edition), pp. 1-6 and Hunter's *Orissa*, II, Appendix VII, pp. 183-91.

In all the four manuscripts utilized for the Prāchī edition the name Bhīmakeśarī occurs, but in Hunter's list it does not find mention. In the Prāchī edition Bhīmakeśarī is credited with the installation of the Sapta-mātṛikas on the eastern side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri. This fact will be discussed later on.

thereby indicating a substratum of historicity for the traditional accounts.

From epigraphic records	*From the Mādalā Pāñji*
Janamejaya (*c.* A.D. 950)	Janmejaya Keśarī.
Yayāti I (*c.* A.D. 975)	Yayāti Keśarī.
Bhīmaratha (*c.* A.D. 1000)	Bhīma Keśarī.
Dharmaratha (*c.* A.D. 1015)	Dharma Keśarī.
Nahuṣa (Indraratha? *c.* A.D. 1020) ...	Indra Keśarī.
Yayāti II (*c.* A.D. 1040) alias Chaṇḍīhara	
Uddyota Keśarī (*c.* A.D. 1065)	Ananta Keśarī.

It will be seen from the lists given above that the *Pāñji* correctly preserves almost all the names of the historical Somavaṁśī kings, although it has changed the order of their succession. It represents Yayāti Keśarī as the founder of the dynasty and relegates Janmejaya Keśarī to a much lower position in the list. It has taken two kings bearing the name of Yayāti as one and the same person. In most of the copies of the *Pāñji*, Ananta Keśarī appears as the immediate successor of Yayāti Keśarī, and from this position assigned to him, it will be legitimate to infer that Ananta Keśarī is no other than Uddyota Keśarī, the immediate successor of Yayāti (II). Such confusions and corruptions are to be expected from the traditional work. The inclusion of the name of Indra Keśarī in the *Pāñji* list supplies us with most valuable corroborative evidence. With due regard to such names as Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha, the two immediate predecessors of Nahuṣa, Dr D. C. Sircar made a brilliant conjecture that Nahuṣa, the fifth king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, most probably bore another name of Indraratha, and suggested that it is during his reign that the Chola king Rājendra I invaded Kośala and captured the king of the lunar race, Indraratha, in a fight at Yayātinagara, the ancient capital of the kings of Kośala and Utkala.[1] The inscriptions of Rājendra Chola mention a king of the ancient race of the moon whom he defeated in a fight at Yayātinagara. The mention of Yayātinagara leaves no doubt that a king of Kośala and Utkala was being referred to and the family name assigns him to the Somavaṁśī family. In one of the inscriptions the name has been given as Indraratha, while in others it has been given in a form that

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, pp. 300-07, 1946.

can easily be restored as Indraratha. We have discussed this point at some length in Chapter III in connexion with the date of the Brahmeśvara temple, and here it is sufficient to say that the date of the Chola invasion is the only solid point in the Somavaṁśī chronology and that the identification of Indraratha, the king of the lunar race, is intimately connected with it. Indra Keśarī of the *Pāñji* no doubt refers to Nahuṣa and by supplying a corroborative evidence for this identification, the *Mādalā Pāñji* does an invaluable service to Orissan history.

Since the *Pāñji* has taken two Yayātis as one and the same person, it has also attributed the building of the temples of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar and of Jagannātha at Puri to one and the same king. But for several reasons it is not possible for us to accept this traditional account. We have shown in Chapter IX that Yayāti I most likely built the temple of Mukteśvara in A.D. 966 and that Yayāti II began the temple of Liṅgarāja, which was completed by his son and successor Uddyota Keśarī corrupted into Ananta Keśarī in the *Pāñji*. The present temple of the Jagannātha is a monument of the twelfth century, built by the Gaṅga king Choḍagaṅgadeva.[1] This temple must have replaced an older one, because the shrine is, without doubt, far older than the twelfth century. The *Mādalā Pāñji* supplies us with an account that during the Raktavāhu invasion in the reign of the Somavaṁśa king Śubhanadeva, the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balabhadra had been taken to Gopāli in Sonepur (a small state, now defunct in the Sambalpur region of Orissa) and buried there, and that Yayāti Keśarī after a lapse of 146 years, installed the new images of the deities in a new temple built for them, the older one having become out of plumb.[2] No accounts of the *Pāñji* are more reliable than those which directly relate to the temple of Jagannātha, because it is, *par excellence*, a chronicle of that temple. The invasion of Raktavāhu, the removal of the images to Sonepur[3] and the re-establishment of the shrine by Yayāti Keśarī after a lapse of 146 years should not, therefore, be taken to be mere mythical accounts. But the so-called Raktavāhu invasion has been an enigma of Orissan history and Mr Stirling who had access to the unadulterated traditions of Orissa, refers to it in the following words:

[1] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 251.
[2] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī edition), pp. 4-6.
[3] In the now-defunct state of Sonepur, there still exists a village known as Gopāli situated about 16 miles from Sonepur town and it has a shrine of Jagannātha.

"In the time of Subhana Deo, the next in the series of the kings, who succeeded to the Raj, A.D.318[1], a relation is given of an extraordinary and incomprehensible occurrence, of which I am quite unable to offer any explanation. It has obviously been strangely distorted by popular tradition, though in all probability possessing a foundation in fact.

"The following is an outline of the story alluded to. A Yavana, or foreigner, named Rakta Bāhu (the Red-Armed) having assembled a large army with the intention of invading Orissa, embarked his troops on vessels with numerous horses and elephants, and having made the coast, anchored at a distance from the Khetra of Jagannātha, hoping to take Puri by surprise. The dung, straw etc. of the horses and elephants, happening however to float ashore in quantities, attracted the notice of some of the people of the town. They immediately reported the unusual appearance to the Rājā, who guessed that some powerful enemy was coming to attack him. Seized with panic he took the image of Sri Jeo, or Jagannātha, out of the temple, lodged it in a covered cart with all its jewels and utensils, and fled away to Sonepur Gopalli, the most remote town on his western frontier. The Yavanas landed and, not finding the prince, plundered the town and temple and committed great excesses everywhere. The Rājā's alarm increased on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the invaders; he now buried the image under the ground, planted a *ber* tree over it, and himself fled farther into the jungles. The Yavanas, unable to understand how he had escaped them, began to institute enquiries on the subject, when some of the low people of the coast informed them of the way in which their approach had been discovered. Enraged with the ocean for disclosing his secret, Rakta Bāhu drew out his armies to chastize its waters. The sea, on observing such formidable preparations, retreated for nearly a cos—the infatuated Yavanas rushed on—when the tide suddenly returning with tremendous noise and fury, swallowed up a great portion of the army and inundated the whole country to a frightful extent. The flood reached inland as far as the Baronai Pahar of Khurda, taking with it immense quantities of sand. It was at this time that the Chilka lake was formed by the irruption of the waters of the ocean.

"The Rājā died shortly afterwards in the jungle. His son Indra Deo, succeeded to the title, but was captured and murdered by the

[1] A.D. 318 is perhaps a mistake for A.D. 328.

invaders. A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Orissa for the space of 146 years. Thus were completed the 396 of the sacabda."[1]

Mr Stirling, as will be seen from his account given above, is unable to offer any explanation for the Raktavāhu invasion of the *Pāñji*. Mr Hunter regards it to be a Greek invasion and devotes almost a chapter to show the early connexion of the Greeks with India.[2] Prof. R. D. Banerji takes it to be a Scythian invasion and postulates a period of Scythian supremacy in Orissa, during which the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins were current.[3] These scholars seem to have attached too much importance to the word Yavana which is even now applied by the temple servants of Puri to all who do not believe in the Jagannātha cult. They have overlooked, however, the most important fact that the installation of Jagannātha by Yayāti Keśarī (either Yayāti I or Yayāti II) took place after a lapse of 146 years from the Raktavāhu invasion. No version of the *Pāñji* has made any serious mistake about this intervening period, because it was the most memorable period in the history of the temple marked by the absence of Jagannātha from Puri. The earlier manuscripts utilized by Mr Stirling put it as 146 years[4] and the later manuscripts utilized for the Prāchī edition[5] (the printed book) put it as 144. So, there is a substantial agreement among all the copies of the *Pāñji* about this intervening period. Again, every version attributes the re-installation of Jagannātha to Yayāti Keśarī who should be identified with Yayāti I or Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśi dynasty and with reference to the chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings the so-called Raktavāhu invasion could have taken place only in the ninth century and consequently during the days of the Bhaumavaṁśa which has incorrectly been mentioned in the *Pāñji* as Somavaṁśa, but has correctly been described as the preceding dynasty of the Somavaṁśī or the Keśarī kings. Since it has been specifically stated in all the copies of the *Pāñji* that the Raktavāhu invasion took place in the reign of the Somavaṁśa (Bhaumavaṁśa) king Śubhanadeva, we have the reason to think that Śubhanadeva is a corruption of Śubhākaradeva. But in the Bhauma dynasty there were four kings bearing the same name Śubhākaradeva and so only

[1] A. Stirling's *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, pp. 67-8 (Reprinted from the original edition of 1822, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904)

[2] *Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 206-32.

[3] *History of Orissa*, Vol. I pp. 109 ff.

[4] *An Account of Orissa*, pp. 67-8.

[5] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī edition), p. 5.

a correct ascription of the Raktavāhu invasion will enable us to identify the king in whose reign the calamity fell.

Among the contemporaries of the Bhaumas, the Pālas of Bengal[1] and the Raṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa have claimed in their epigraphic records to have conquered Orissa. But the claim made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas about their conquest of Orissa, seems to be supported by the so-called Raktavāhu invasion recorded in the *Pāñji*. The verse 24 of the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[2] credits Govinda III with the conquest of Kośala, Kaliṅga, Veṅgi, Dāhala and Oḍraka, which, if taken to be correct, must have taken place before his death in A.D. 814.[3] Since under Govinda III the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army became practically invincible everywhere, the invasion of Oḍraka or Orissa by him will not appear improbable. It is most likely that this Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion has been mentioned in the *Mādalā Pāñji* as the Raktavāhu invasion. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were otherwise known as Raṭṭas,[4] and according to the Wardha Plates they belonged to the Sātyaki branch of the lunar race and were the descendants of a princess named Rattā.[5] The corruption of Rattā or Raṭṭa into *Rakta* is most likely, and in the imitation of the name Rakta-vīrya of mythological fame, *vāhu* would have been added to it to complete a mythological name. Traditions in course of time gather round them a mass of mythology and legends and so it is not possible for us to accept the whole story of the traditional Raktavāhu invasion. It is difficult to say whether the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came by the sea or land and with or without the intention of plundering the Jagannātha temple, but it seems most likely that the news of their victories in the neighbouring countries and their approach towards Puri would have frightened the ruler to escape with the images of the deities, which must have been considered to be the most precious objects of the country.

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa during the reign of Govinda III is thus most probable, and it is corroborated by the chronological test. The earliest date of Daṇḍīmahādevī that we get from her Ganjam Plate[6] is 180 which, according to our determination of the Bhauma era, is 180+643=A.D. 823. The reign period of her mother, Gaurī Mahādevī, who intervened between her and her father

[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca University, p. 117-20.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.
[3] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1933, p. 738.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 35, 39 and Vol. XVIII, p. 255.
[5] C. V. Baidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 144.
[6] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 57.

Śubhakāradeva IV, is not known, but it should not be taken to have lasted for more than 13 years. The Raktavāhu invasion, according to the *Pāñji* occurred when Śubhanadeva was the king and this Śubhanadeva was apparently Śubhakaradeva IV who is thus known to have been a contemporary of Govinda III. It is thus almost certain that the victorious expedition of Govinda III up to Oḍraka, as mentioned in the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, survives in the *Pāñji* tradition as the Raktavāhu invasion in the time of Śubhanadeva. Yayāti Keśarī, apparently Yayāti I, who was responsible for the re-installation of Jagannātha, according to the chronology worked out by Dr D. C. Sirkar and followed by us, ruled from *c.* A.D. 950 to 975. According to the *Pāñji* the intervening period between the Raktavāhu invasion and the re-installation of Jagannātha is 146 years. This intervening period also fits admirably the chronological position of Yayāti I on one hand and of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III and the Bhauma king Śubhākaradeva IV on the other. Govinda III ruled from A.D. 793 to 814 and his invasion of Orissa apparently took place between A.D. 805 and 814.

That a calamity overtook the Bhauma family in the reign of Śubhākaradeva IV, is apparent from the course of events that can be gleaned from the epigraphic records of the later members of the family. Śubhākaradeva IV was succeeded by his queen Gaurīmahādevī who was succeeded by her daughter Daṇḍīmahādevī. Daṇḍīmahādevī was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādevī who in her turn was succeeded by Dharammāmahādevī who was the wife of the elder brother of Vakulamahādevī's husband.[1] After Dharmmāmahādevī we get no trace of the Bhauma dynasty from any records. This succession of four female members is rather unusual, and the sudden end of the Bhauma dynasty with Dharmmā-mahādevī who must have been old at the time of her succession, indicates that a calamity overtook the family during the reign of Śubhākaradeva IV, leading to the extinction of male heirs and so four female members of the family successively ruled after him. This receives confirmation from the story of the Raktavāhu invasion given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* that Śubhanadeva fled to the jungles and died shortly afterwards and that his son Indra-deo succeeded him, but he was captured and killed by the invaders and then followed the rule of the Yavanas or the Mughalas in Orissa. The four female members do not

[1] *Taltali Plate of Dharmmāmahādevī*, *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXI, 1945, pp. 213-22.

find any mention in the *Pāñji*, apparently because they ruled during the absence of Jagannātha from Puri and had nothing to do with his shrine. We have no evidence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule in Orissa as a whole, but recently Dr D. C. Sircar, the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy (now Government Epigraphist for India) has received a copper-plate grant which proves beyond doubt that there was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa principality in Orissa,[1] though at a much later date. It seems that after their invasion the Rāṣṭrakūṭas left some of the adventurers in their army to carve out small principalities in Orissa.

It was thus Yayāti I who built the temple of Mukteśvara at Bhubaneswar in A.D. 966 and of Jagannātha at Puri in about A.D. 956. Of Yayāti's temple of Jagannātha nothing can now be seen, the present temple having been an erection of the twelfth century during the reign of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. It was Yayāti II and his son and successor Uddyota Keśarī who built the great temple of Bhubaneswar (otherwise known as Kṛīttivāsa or Liṅgarāja). As already shown in connexion with the date of the Brahmeśvara temple in Chapter XII, Kolāvatīdevī, the mother of Uddyota Keśarī built the Brahmeśvara temple in the eighteenth year of her son's reign. The *Mādalā Pāñji* states that, since the eastern part of the Liṅgarāja temple had become out of plumb, Tulāvatī Rāṇī wife of Vasukalpa Keśarī, got it dismantled and rebuilt.[2] It seems most probable that Tulāvatī Rāṇī is no other than Kolāvatī Rāṇī, the builder of the Brahmeśvara temple, but she was not the queen of Vasukalpa Keśarī but of Yayāti Keśarī or Yayāti II alias Chaṇḍīhara. It is most likely that she built the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja, which is to the east of the main temple. The same *Pāñji* also states that Indra Keśarī worshipped Kedāreśvara and then became an ascetic.[3] As we have already seen, Indra Keśarī is no other than Nahuṣa-Indraratha, the

[1] Dr D. C. Sircar (now Government Epigraphist for India) has very kindly sent me the following information about the Rāṣṭrakuṭa Plate:

"The Rāṣṭrakuṭa copper plate inscription in question was found from a village near Bargarh in the Sambalpur District. It was issued in the year 56 from Vāgharākoṭṭa by a Rāṣṭrakuṭa ruler of feudatory rank named Parāchakraśalya who was the son of Dha(Dhva) ṁsaka and the grandson of Rāṇaka Chāmaravigraha. The year 56 seems to be referable to the Chalukya-Vikrama era of A.D. 1076. The Orissan Rāṣṭrakuṭas may have owed nominal allegiance to the Chālukyas of Kalyani and their settlement in Orissa may be analogous to that of the Senas of Bengal and of the Karṇāṭakas of Mithila".

[2] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī edition), p. 20. *E uttāru Vasukalpa Keśarī Maharāja Ehāṅka bhāryyā Tulāvatī Rāṇī* । *E Kṛittivasaṇka deula purva-paṭola vaisama hoi paḍilaku e bhāṅgāi tolāile.*

[3] Ibid. p. 20.

fifth king of the dynasty, who however did not become an ascetic as the *Pāñji* states, but was defeated and perhaps killed by Rājendra Chola in about A.D. 1023. The temple of Kedāreśvara on stylistic ground has been assigned to the declining period of the Keśarī or Somavaṁśī kings, but the temple of Gaurī which stands in the same compound, bears, as already shown, close sculptural affinities with the Mukteśvara. So it may be that the Gaurī temple had been built by Indra Keśarī or Nahuṣa-Indraratha. We have seen that the magnificent temple of Rājarāṇī originally bore the name of Indreśvara and that its date is not far removed from that of the Mukteśvara. Is it possible that it was named after Indraratha who was its builder?

Amidst corruptions and confusions of the legends, there is thus a substratum of historical truth in the numerous traditions recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. The *Pāñji* has made the worst confusion by taking the two kings bearing the same name Yayāti as one and the same person. The confusion becomes apparent also on a closer scrutiny of the *Pāñji* itself. About Bhīma Keśarī or Bhīmaratha the *Pāñji* says: "This king was a great worshipper of Devī. He installed seven sisters on the eastern side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara (tank)."[1] Surely the Sapta-mātṛikās, that still exist on the eastern side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri, and have already been noticed by several scholars,[2] are being referred to in the *Pāñji* as the seven sisters (*sāla bhauṇī*) installed by Bhīma Keśarī. Now, Bhīmaratha was the third of the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī kings and if he installed the Sapta-mātṛikās near the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri, it only shows that the Somavaṁśī kings had already established their connexion with Pnri by the time of his reign. So it is most improbable that the work of re-establishing the Jagannātha at Puri would have been deferred to the reign of Yayāti II, the sixth king of the dynasty. The course of events that would have taken place, seems to be that Yayāti I revived the shrine of Jagannātha and his successor Bhīmaratha installed the seven mothers near the tank of Mārkaṇḍeśvara. The *mātṛikās* of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar and those of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri are close prototypes and they appear, unlike the earlier *mātṛikā* groups, with babies in their arms and their Vīrabhadras appear with swords in their hands.[3] This indicates that they were close

[1] *Mādalā Pāñji* (Prāchī edition), p. 19.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* Vol. II, Plates between 400-01, 404-05, 416-17; and *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India,* No. 44, Plates I, VI, VII, and IX.

[3] Ibid.

contemporaries and would have been carved during the reigns of two successive kings, Yayāti I and Bhīmaratha.

Although, the official faith of the Somavaṁśīs was Śaivism, they were undoubtedly tolerant of all sects. They revived the most important Vaiṣṇava shrine of Jagannātha at Puri; the kings of this dynasty were instrumental in raising the greatest Śaiva temple at Bhubaneswar besides a number of smaller ones; it is probably the members of this dynasty who erected the Gaurī temple in the Kedāreśvara compound and installed the seven mothers near the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank; and it is in the fifth and the eighteenth years of the reign of Uddyota Keśarī that the Jaina images were carved in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī and the Navamuni caves of the Khaṇḍagiri hill.[1] The temple of Mukteśvara bears, as we have already seen, the images of the Buddha and the Jaina Tīrthāṅkaras. The Keśarīs are also credited by tradition with the performance of several Brāhmaṇical sacrifices. Janamejaya is credited with the performance of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice at Kaṭaka which has been identified by Pandit B. Misra with Chaudwar near modern Cuttack.[2] Yayāti Keśarī is credited with the performance of a great sacrifice to which he is said to have invited ten-thousand Brahmins from Kānyakubja. Most of the Brahmins in Orissa still trace their origin to these ten-thousand Brahmins.

These evidences indicate that the Somavaṁśīs were typical Hindus, clinging to a family deity of their own, but worshipping all other deities and extending toleration and patronage to all other sects. They established their rule in Orissa at a time when it had suffered from a long period of anarchy and misrule, when art and architecture had languished, big sacrifices held in abeyance and above all the Lord Jagannātha had been banished from Puri. Their manifold activities which ushered in a new age in Orissa, made a lasting impression on the minds of the people, and have given rise to a number of recorded and unrecorded traditions still current in the land. In a way the Somavaṁśī-Keśarīs were the makers of modern Utkala or Orissa, by which term, several regions with distinctive cultures and languages came to be collectively known later on. The process of fusion of diverse cultures seems to have begun during the Bhauma period, but

[1] The existing inscriptions in these caves prove that the Jaina images were carved in them in the fifth and the eighteenth regnal years of Uddyota Keśarī, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 166 ff., Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1571 and 1573.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XVII, p. 10.

it is this memorable dynasty that gave a final shape to what came to be known as the distinctive Orissan culture. The Somavaṁśīs were primarily the kings of Kośala and as we know from the Brahmeśvara inscription, it was Janamejaya who first conquered Oḍra or Orissa by killing its king with a *kunta*. But during the reigns of his successors Kośala, Utkala, Koṅgoda and the parts of what was known as Kaliṅga gradually came to be united by cultural and linguistic bonds. While discussing the date of the Mukteśvara temple, we have shown how the art and architecture of the Upper Mahānadī Valley formerly known as Kośala or Mahakośala, travelled to Utkala to initiate a revival of artistic conceptions which with some modifications and improvements became the hall-mark of Orissan architecture. As can be inferred from their copper-plate grants, it is also the Somavaṁśīs who settled a number of Brahmin families in the Upper Mahānadī Valley, which must have induced the other caste Hindus to migrate to that region from the coastal strip of Orissa. The hilly parts of modern Orissa which were principally tribal areas, thus gradually came under the cultural influence of Orissa. It is therefore no wonder that numerous legends and traditions have grown round the names of the Somavaṁśī kings, and in many cases they are founded on facts. Since Yayāti I and Yayāti II were noted for their religious activities, the popular traditions, by taking them as one and the same person, represent him as the founder of the Keśarī dynasty, although it was Janamejaya who founded the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī dynasty of Kośala and Utkala.

The sculptures of the temples, built during this period at Bhubaneswar, provide no definite clues to any special cult favoured by the Somavaṁśīs. They seem to have been cosmopolitan in their religious outlook, retaining all the conventions that had acquired religious sanction through long practice in the preceding centuries. But such revolting practices as were indulged in by the Kāpālikas, do not seem to have been favoured by them. At any rate, we do not get in the group of temples built during this period, such evidences as are furnished by the Vaitāl temple. The Śaktī images in their terrific forms continued to be sculptured on the temples as is evidenced by a few such images appearing on the Brahmeśvara, but the only Śākta image that serves as the presiding deity of the Gaurī temple in the Kedāreśvara compound, which we have assigned to this period, is found in the pacific form. The images of Lakulīśa which are to be found in large numbers in the Mukteśvara, do not appear at all in

the Brahmeśvara, and there is only one such image in the Liṅgarāja (Fig. 127). The Viṣṇu images are also rarely found in this group, but Kṛiṣṇa for the first time found sculptural representation during this period. We have already seen that the child Śrī-kṛiṣṇa and his parents Nanda and Yaśodā appear in the Liṅgarāja and the Brahmeśvara temples (Fig. 83).

The glorious period of the Keśarīs or Somavaṁśīs passed away with the death of Uddyota Keśarī. As we have already said, some Orissan kings appear with the title *Keśarī* in certain inscriptions, but it is difficult to ascertain their relation to the main Somavaṁśī dynasty or their activities at Bhubaneswar. Dr D. C. Sircar has also given the names of these kings in the genealogical list prepared by him, but he has not been able to establish their relation with the main dynasty.[1]

Bhubaneswar under the Gaṅga and Sūrya-vaṁśa Kings

The direct connexion of the Gaṅgas with Utkala or Orissa began with its conquest by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, the date of which has hitherto been taken to be the Śaka year 1040=A.D. 1118,[2] but there is an inscription in the Liṅgarāja temple which records the gift of a perpetual lamp during the reign of Choḍagaṅgadeva in the Śaka year 1036=A.D. 1114. So his connexion with Orissa and Bhubaneswar had begun earlier than A.D. 1114. While discussing the date of the Kedāreśvara temple in Chapter III, we have seen that his younger brother Rājā Pramāḍīdeva endowed some villages in Śaka 1064, i.e. A.D. 1142 for a perpetual lamp to be put before the deity of that temple. These inscriptions definitely prove his connexion with Bhubaneswar. Besides, certain places and monuments in and around Bhubaneswar are still associated with his name. A lake near Dhauli bears the name Kauśalyā Gaṅga which is attributed by the *Mādalā Pāñji* to Gaṅgeśvaradeva who is no other than Choḍagaṅgadeva. A village near Dhauli is also known as Gaṅgeśvarapur. A local tradition current in Bhubaneswar credits Lakṣmīdevī represented as the wife of Choḍagaṅgadeva, with the excavation of a large tank that still exists under the name Lakṣmī-sāgar in the neighbourhood of the Bhubaneswar Railway Station. About twelve miles

[1] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 300-07.
[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 249.

to the north of Bhubaneswar, near the Baraṅg Railway Station, are to be found the vast ruins of an ancient fort, known as Śāraṅg or Churaṅg Garh, with the remains of its outer and inner walls,[1] now hidden in the dense jungle. In 1822 when Stirling wrote his *Account of Orissa* tradition ascribed the building of this fort, and also one in Cuttack-Chaudwar to Choḍagaṅga,[2] a name which has survived as Churaṅg or Śāraṅg. Another fort, known as Kāśiā Garh, about 6 miles in perimeter with sandstone walls about 10 feet thick and with gates and bastions, still exists in a ruined condition in the dense jungle near the village Daluā on the road from Chandakā to Khurdā.[3] Except some wells, the interior of the fort reveals no signs of occupation, the mounds and the ruins of any sort and pot-sherds being conspicuously absent. The local tradition attributes its building to Chuḍaṅg Rājā. Besides, a *sati* memorial column inside the fort is still worshipped as Chuḍaṅga Dāriāṇī i.e. the prostitute of Chuḍaṅga. These evidences indicate that this fort was also built by Choḍagaṅgadeva. It seems that his long reign lasting for 74 years witnessed the building of a series of forts at strategic points and in the dense jungles and they accounted for his military successes and the extension of his kingdom from the Godāverī in the south to the river Hooghly in the north. He was not merely a builder of mighty forts, but it is he who erected the present temple of Jagannātha at Puri.[4] His respect for Śaivism is proved by the fact that in A.D. 1128 he and his wives visited the temple of Bhīmeśvara at Drākṣārāma in the Godāverī district and made several gifts.[5]

A mighty builder like him would not have failed to build a temple at Bhubaneswar, but unfortunately no inscription definitely attributing to him the building of any such temple can be traced. As a matter of fact, inscriptions definitely crediting kings with the building of temples are conspicuous by their absence not only in Bhubaneswar but also in other parts of Orissa, although the temples built by the relative of the kings or their high officers contain commemorative inscriptions in some cases. In Bhubaneswar, as we have already seen,

[1] The magnificent outer wall, about 25 ft. in width, that extended over two miles, was recently despoiled by a contractor to build an embankment in the Kathjuri river near Cuttack. One of its secret passages was unique in its construction.

[2] *An Account of Orissa*, p. 71.

[3] The existence of this fort was very kindly brought to my notice by Pandit Surya Narayan Das of Puri.

[4] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 251.

[5] P. Mukherji, *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, p. 180.

there were three such commemorative inscriptions in the temples of Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara and Ananta Vāsudeva. The absence of commemorative inscriptions in the temples built by the kings cannot be regarded as accidental; most likely it indicates that such temples were considered as state property rather than the property of the kings during whose reigns they were built.

The connexion of some of the successors of Choḍagaṅgadeva with Bhubaneswar can also be traced from inscriptions. Several inscriptions exist in the inner walls of the Liṅgarāja temple and they form a subject matter for a separate monograph. Unfortunately, only a few of them have yet been published. Many of these inscriptions refer to the reigns of the Gaṅga kings, but none credits them with the building of a temple. They record, in most cases, the endowment of perpetual lamps in the shrine of Kṛittivāśa or Liṅgarāja and give dates in the Śaka era and the regnal years of the kings, which are most valuable for the reconstruction of the political history of Orissa. We have already seen in Chapter III that one Gaṅga officer built the temple of Megheśvara and the daughter of a Gaṅga king built the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva. These documents in their totality give us an idea about the long connexion of the Gaṅga kings with Bhubaneswar, during whose reigns many temples were added to the existing ones. But these inscriptions do not help us in understanding the type of religious culture that was introduced into the Śaiva shrine. To understand the cultural history of the period, we have, therefore, to depend upon the literary and other archaeological evidences.

By the time the Gaṅgas established their rule in Orissa, the ideas about the size of religious structures had become greatly changed. They were no longer the humble flat-roofed small structures that marked the beginning of temples in the Gupta age, nor were they small edifices with modest *śikharas* that came into existence in the early medieval period. The two illustrious members of the preceding dynasty had built a gigantic temple structure like the great Liṅgarāja and the eminent members of the Gaṅga dynasty by trying to emulate or even to outstrip them, built the more stupendous temples like those at Puri and Koṇārka. The ideas about the worship and the status of the presiding deities had also become greatly changed. A presiding deity was to live in state as much as a king would do. He was to have an audience hall (*Jagamohana*), dancing hall (*Nāṭa-mandira*) and dining hall (*Bhoga-Maṇḍapa*). He was to be provided with

dancing girls, musical parties, silk clothes, gold ornaments, elephants, horses, cows, palanquins and, above all, big estates to defray large expenditure on his daily worship and offerings. Perhaps, it is in the Gaṅga period that the custom of presenting dancing girls to the presiding deities was largely introduced in Orissa. In Orissa, if such a custom had existed at all, it must have existed in a restricted form, because in the pre-Gaṅga temples we do not find a structure particularly set apart for the dancing girls. The texts dealing with the affairs of Bhubaneswar such as the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* which, as we have already seen, were compiled at the end of the Gaṅga or in the beginning of the Sūrya-vaṁśī period, speak particularly of the lotus-eyed damsels who are said to have been presented to the presiding deities by the builders of the important temples.

The Gaṅga period is especially memorable for a great religious movement for a synthesis of different cults and sects. It is really surprising how the diverse cults, so different in conception and origin and sometimes even antagonistic to each other, could be welded together into a cosmopolitan form of religion that became the order of the age. Before the commencement of the Gaṅga period Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism were the three main cults which existed side by side in Orissa, each preaching its own superiority, but at no time either in theory or practice, losing its separate entity. In the Gaṅga period there were attempts to amalgamate them into one form of religion that contained the principles of each, but yet exclusively represented none. The *piṭhas* or shrines continued to bear distinct names in accordance with the cults of their origin. Puri, Bhubaneswar, Koṇārka, Mahāvināyaka and Virajā or Jajpur, the traditional five *piṭhas* representing five distinct cults, continued to be respectively termed as Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śaura, Gāṇapatya and Śākta shrines; but the form of worship that came into vogue in them became essentially a cosmopolitan one. The movement aimed at a synthesis of cults and sects by adopting principles not merely from the different cults of Hinduism, but from Buddhism, Jainism and from the primitive cults that were practised by the primitive people of Orissa. The cult of Jagannātha embodies all these diverse elements and affords the best example of this synthesis. It is, therefore, no wonder that different scholars would put different interpretations on the origin and the development of the Jagannātha cult. It is maintained by some scholars that the images, now known as Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balabhadra, were originally *triratna* symbols worshipped

by the primitive Śavaras,[1] and the Śavara origin of the cult is further sought to be supported by the existence in the Jagannātha temple of a class of servants known as Daitāpatis(*Devatā-patis* or the custodians of the deity), who claim their descent from the Brahmin Visvāvasu through the Śavara mother Lalitā. It is also suggested by some that these three images represent Ananta, Vāsudeva and Ekānaṁśā as given in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[2] Some scholars also think that they represent Buddha, Dharmma and Saṅgha and one scholar would like to trace their origin to Jainism.[3] The views of the different scholars on the subject are, no doubt, partially right, for in reality Jagannātha grew into an institution embodying the principles of all the sects and cults known to India. The shrine of Jagannātha was much earlier than the period of the Gaṅgas, but the character of the cult in its earlier phases is not definitely known. During the Gaṅga period the final shape of the Jagannātha cult embodying the principles and ideas of various sects had been reached and the theory of its Brāhmaṇical origin emphasized and given wide publicity. Brāhmaṇism was a great unifying factor in the history of Indian civilization and in its gradual development one may recognize the assimilation of various heterogenous ideas and beliefs, all synthetized into the larger concept of Hinduism. The emphasis on the Brāhmaṇical origin of the Jagannātha cult is nothing but an attempt to endow the various strains, that went to the formation of this cult, with an authoritative sanction. The orthodox interpretation of the three images as current in the Gaṅga period and the subsequent period of the Sūryavaṁśīs, the last independent Hindu dynasty of Orissa, came down to the early British period when Stirling wrote his *An Account of Orissa* in 1822. It has been recorded by Stirling that according to the orthodox interpretation, the three images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā respectively represent Viṣṇu, Siva and Durgā.[4] The Jagannātha religion in its final phase thus sought to synthetize the three main cults of Hinduism, viz. Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Sāktism, but at the same time it also retained some practices of the older cults and religions to which it owed its origin.

We are not however concerned here with the origin and development of the Jagannātha cult which forms a subject by itself. What we

[1] H. K. Mahatab, *Odiṣa-Itihasa*, pp. 150 ff.
[2] P. Mukherji, *History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, pp. 7, 17-18.
[3] *Ind. Hist. Q.*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 600-09.
[4] *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, p. 104.

want to show here is its influences on the great Śaiva shrine at Bhubaneswar. Although the cult originated and developed at Puri, it did not really remain confined to that place, but it gradually spread to other shrines of Orissa. As a matter of fact, it became the religion of Orissa, and not of the Jagannātha temple alone. The spirit of the age in which the synthesis of the cults took place manifested itself in art, architecture and literature of the period, of which enough materials are now available. The cult as well as the principles which formed it, influenced the religious history of Orissa. The great temple at Koṇārka which, to judge from the presiding deity, was purely a Saura shrine, bore the stamp of this cosmopolitanism. It is difficult to ascertain the form of worship that was in vogue in that great temple, for worship had long been abandoned there; but among its innumerable sculptures, there are still to be found several panels in which the representations of a Siva *liṅgam*, Jagannātha and Durgā are depicted side by side, with a worshipper paying homage to them all. The worshipper is a royal personage who most likely represents the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I, the builder of the temple.

The great temple of Liṅgarāja which, unlike the temple of Koṇārka, is still under worship, affords ample evidence to show how this Śaiva shrine was influenced by the Jagannātha cult. The influences of the Jagannātha cult are to be discerned in the daily worship of the deity, in the *mantras* with which he is invoked, in the offerings which are given to him, in the surroundings in which he is worshipped, in the festivals which are held in his honour and in the orthodox literature in which he has been extolled and the modes and merits of his worship propounded. It is now an accepted fact with the priests here that the Liṅgarāja is a combination of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. In other words, he is Harihara and not Hara alone. A natural line that exists in that *Svayambhu liṅgam* (Liṅgarāja) is pointed out by them as the line demarcating the Śiva and Viṣṇu portions of the same deity which is invoked as Harihara. Hemlock and hemlock leaves which are generally given to a Siva-liṅgam are not allowed in the Liṅgarāja temple. The leaves of *Vilva* and *Tulasī*, which are favourites respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu are used in daily worship. The temple and the surroundings in which the Liṅgarāja is now worshipped underwent important changes and modifications to fit in with the new conception about the presiding deity. We have seen that it is during the Gaṅga period that the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* were added to the Liṅgarāja temple and so the *Vṛiṣa-stambha* which now stands in

front of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* would have been a work of that period. This *stambha* bears at the top not only a *vṛiṣa* (bull), the mount of Siva, but also a Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, which having been placed side by side in front of the temple, have evidently been meant to make the synthesis of the two cults visual to a visitor at his first approach to the shrine. The crowning members of the great Liṅgarāja can be seen from a distance and the topmost two of them, as in other temples, are an *āyudha* (weapon) and a *patākā* (flag). In order to bring home to the general public that the shrine belongs to both the sects, the *āyudha* which must have originally been a *triśula*, was replaced by one consisting of half a disc and a trident. It is said that this change was brought about by a daring man who climbed to the top of the spire in the dead of night under the orders of a Gaṅga king, pulled down the original *āyudha* and replaced it by this new and composite device. This man is said to have granted rent-free lands and given the little *Niḥśaṅka-malla* (the fearless hero) which is still borne by his descendants living in the Nuapalli village near Bhubaneswar. Some orthodox Śaivas explain the disc as the *Pināka*, the bow of Śiva, but this explanation is untenable in view of the fact that the *Pināka* or bow is never used as a crowning member in any Śaiva temple.

In remodelling the Liṅgarāja temple, the Gaṅga kings also introduced some Vaiṣṇavite features which are not to be found in any Śaiva shrine. In the southern door-jambs of the *Nāṭamandira* are to be found the images of the Vaiṣṇava *dvārapālas*, Jaya and Vijaya, in place of Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa. These images holding in the upper two hands *śaṅkha* and *chakra* and in the lower two a *gadā* stuck to the ground, are close prototypes of the *dvārapālas* of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple built in A.D. 1278 and they furnish us with the further evidence that the *Nāṭamandira* was erected during the Gaṅga period (Figs. 77-78). The interior of the *Nāṭamandira* also contained arrangements for the *Jhulaṇa* festival which is observed in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, but which has now been somehow discontinued in the Liṅgarāja temple.[1] On the western side of the main temple of Liṅgarāja and on the northern side of its *Bhogamaṇḍapa* the images of Jagannātha and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa have been enshrined, so that a devotee while making a circumambulation will first meet these Vaiṣṇavite deities before he enters the main shrine to pay homage to the *Svayambhu liṅgam*. Among the subsidiary temples

[1] The main function of the *Jhulaṇa* festival is to swing the movable images of deities in *dolā* meant for the purpose.

standing within the compound of the Liṅgarāja, there are two to the south of the main shrine, of which one contains the image of the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu and the other, the three images of Ananta, Vāsudeva and Ekānaṁśā. No Śākta influence can be traced in the worship of the Liṅgarāja, but provision exists for the worship of Pārvatī enshrined in a beautiful temple with a three-chambered porch, which stands to the north of the main shrine, and which, as we have already seen, was erected in the Gaṅga period. On the day the Lord Tribhuvaneśvara (Liṅgarāja) returns to the temple after completing the car festival of Aśokāṣṭamī, a mock quarrel is staged between two parties of priests respectively of Liṅgarāja and of Pārvatī, because during the car festival the former takes with him Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu and not Pārvatī.

The cumulative effects of the influences of the Jagannātha cult on the Liṅgarāja temple have been that it has lost its distinctive character of a Saiva shrine and has adopted the cosmopolitanism of the Jagannātha at Puri. The *Śudra* priests, known as *Vaḍus*, who have been described in the sixty-second chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* as the descendants of a Śavara mother by a Śaiva saint known as Siddha-bhūti, are, like the *Daitāpatis* of the Jagannātha temple, still the custodians of the Liṅgarāja shrine, although the Brahmins have also taken a share in the worship in recent times. Notwithstanding the well-known orthodox dictum that the offerings given to Śiva are not to be partaken of by any Hindu, even the cooked rice offered to Liṅgarāja, is now eaten by all caste Hindus including the Brahmins. The custom is certainly analogous to the one prevalent in the Jagannātha temple where, while partaking of the cooked rice offered to the god, no caste distinction is observed.

That these influences of the Jagannātha cult are not of recent origin in the Liṅgarāja temple, is proved by the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the allied works. They are unanimous in their assertions that no real distinction exists between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults and that it is only superficial people who find a distinction in them. Thus says the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*:

"There is no distinction between Viṣṇu and Śiva. This is the eternal *Dharmma* and the man who observes this *Dharmma* attains *mukti*.[1]

In another place the same authority seeks to synthetize the four main cults, viz. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śāktism and Saurism:

[1] *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, Chapter V, p. 29.

"O goddess (Pārvatī), you are Viṣṇu; and Śūrya and Achyuta are my emanations. The intelligent people say that there is no distinction between them (i.e. between Viṣṇu and Sūrya). So Viṣṇu and Siva split the one body into two. The god (thus became) Arddhanārīśvara and (in him) the female portion is really Janārdana. O goddess (Pārvatī), do not see any distinction, (for) he who is Viṣṇu, is also Maheśvara. The vicious fool who makes a distinction goes to hell."[1]

Instances can be multiplied from the same work to show that it takes all the main cults to be one and the same cult. It also utters warnings against the followers of Viṣṇu who want to vilify Śaivism. It says:

"In the Kali Age those persons, who having been Vaiṣṇavas, become the vilifiers of Śiva, will certainly go to hell. There is no doubt about it."[2]

On the ground that the Liṅgarāja is the combination of Viṣṇu and Śiva, it also justifies the partaking of the offerings made to him.

"Bhubaneśvara is no *liṅgam*; (he) is the image of Parama Brahma. (So) the partaking of the offerings made to him leads to the merits that accrue from a great sacrifice."[3]

The *Svarṇṇādri-mahodaya* in its sixth chapter further explains the reasons why the offerings given to Bhubaneśvara are not to be tabooed. It says:

"This *Liṅgam* is neither god, nor Rudra, nor Mādhava. Since half of each exists there, it is *Svayambhu*. The offerings given to a *liṅgam* are not to be partaken of, (but) Bhubaneśvara is not a *liṅgam*. So, O son, eat the offerings with the gods and demons."

The same work in the same chapter also asserts that offerings given to Liṅgarāja are not polluted by touch. In other words, it sanctions that the lower castes can take the offerings in the company of the higher castes. The sanction still exists and it is now a common custom that the lower-caste people carry even the cooked rice offered to Liṅgarāja to distant places where it is served to the people of all castes on ceremonial occasions.

Culturally the Sūryavaṁśī period merges into the Gaṅga epoch, but towards the end of this period Vaiṣṇavism became predominant in Orissa on account of the visit of Śrī Chaitanya to this country, his long sojourn at Puri and his great influence on Pratāparudradeva

[1] *Ekāmra Purāna*, Chapter V, p. 29 p. 39.
[2] Ibid. Chapter VI, p. 47.
[3] Ibid. Chapter XLII, p. 323.

(A.D. 1497-1541) the last great king of the dynasty. So the ascendancy of the Jagannātha cult popularly affiliated to the Vaiṣṇava cult, was more in evidence at Bhubaneswar. The earlier work, *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, while describing in its 18th and 22nd chapters the procedure of visiting the main shrine, enjoins that, a pilgrim after having a dip in the Vindusarovara, must first see Ananta-Vāsudeva and then go to the shrine of Liṅgarāja. Though the procedure gave the first precedence to a Vaiṣṇava shrine, nonetheless Ananta-Vāsudeva was never conceived as the supreme deity of the place. On the other hand, the work has consistently maintained that at the request of Śiva, Vāsudeva with his brother Ananta agreed to fix his abode at Ekāmra, and to serve as the *Kṣetrapāla* or the protector of the place. It thus maintains that Bhubaneswar was mainly a Śaiva shrine and Vaiṣṇavism was allowed to exist here on equal terms. But this position was soon to change along with the growing popularity of Vaiṣṇavism as a result of Śrī Chaitanya's activities and the patronage of Vaiṣṇavism by Pratāparudradeva under the former's spiritual guidance. The *Kapila-saṁhitā* which, as we have already seen, would have been compiled in or after the reign of Pratāparudradeva, propounds just the opposite view of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*. The eleventh chapter of the *Kapila-saṁhitā* gives an account of Śiva's coming to Ekāmra which, on account of its historical significance, is worth quoting here in its main outline:

In the age of Treta Śiva once told Nārada that, since Bārāṇasī had become overcrowded, he would not like to stay there any longer and would choose a solitary place for his abode. Nārada told him that there was a beautiful place known as Ekāmra situated to the north of Nīlāchala on the sea-coast and that Vāsudeva with his brother had been living there (at Ekāmra). If he wanted to fix his abode there he should first go to Vāsudeva, practise penance to propitiate him and obtain his permission to stay there. According to the advice of Nārada Śiva went to Ekāmra and at his first meeting with Vāsudeva, fell at his feet and propitiated him with various prayers. Vāsudeva at last agreed to assign him a place in Ekāmra, but not without a condition. The condition was that he must not try to go back to Bārāṇasī again. Śiva agreed to the condition and was therefore given a place in Ekāmra.

The inner significance of the story is that Ekāmra was originally a Vaiṣṇava shrine and that Śaivism was allowed to exist there after a compromise and on certain conditions. This, however, is just contrary

to the archaeological evidence that we find with regard to its origin. It is evident that, in the last part of the Sūryavaṁśī period, the cult of Jagannātha, popularly representing Vaiṣṇavism, became the predominant form of religion in Orissa and all other cults were made subservient to it. This Jagannātha cult, as we have already seen, is in reality an amalgam of different cults and religions, and even of the practices and faiths followed by the primitive tribes. There was therefore a grand experiment in the field of religion in this eastern coast of India to reduce heterogeneity to a sort of homogeneity. The religious system, thus evolved, still prevails in Orissa without much change.





Fig. 2. Nāgarāja.



Fig. 4. Yakṣa.

Fig. 3. Railing Pillar.



Fig. 1. Lion Capital.





Fig. Back View of a Yakṣa.



Fig. 8. Nāga.



Fig. 7. Bell Capital.



Fig. 6. A Sculptural Specimen of the Śatrughneśvara Temple.



Fig. 9. An older Sculptural Part in the Siddheśvara Temple.



Fig. 10. Grill with Dancing Figures, Kapileśvara Temple.

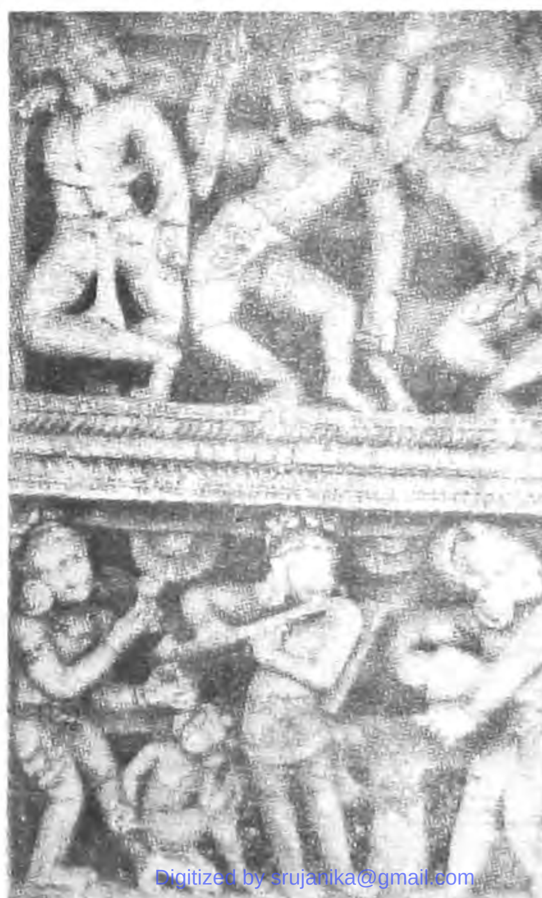


Fig. 11. Grill with Dancing Figures. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 15. Dvārapāla, Śiśireśvara Temple.



16. Dvārapālas and Amorous Couples,
āl Temple.



Fig. 12. Lintel from Lalitgiri, Cuttack District.

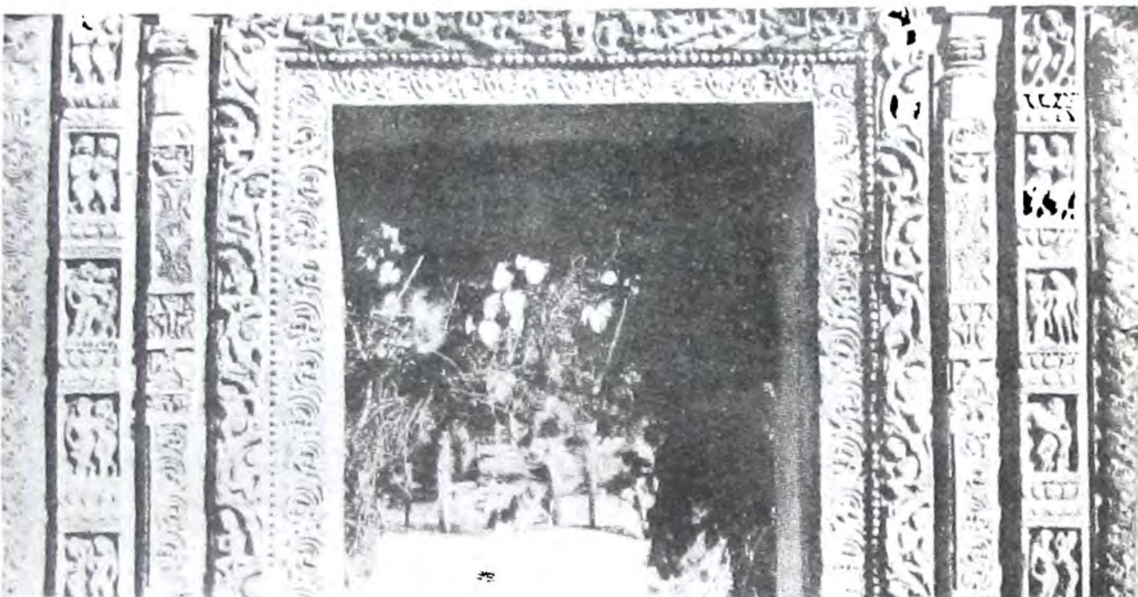


Fig. 13. Door Jambs from Lalitgiri, Cuttack District.

Fig. 14. Nāga and Dvārapāla in the Lalitgiri Door Jamb.





Fig. 17. An Amorous Couple, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 18. An Amorous Couple, Vaital Temple.



Fig. 19. Avalokiteśvara, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 21. Amogha-siddhi, Śiśireśvara Temple.

Fig. 20. Lakulīśa, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 22. Amogha-siddhi, Orissa Museum.



Fig. 23. Indra (?), Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 24. Nāga and Dvārapāla, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 25. Female Door-keeper, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 26. Śatrughneśvara Temple.

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27. Lakshmaṇeśvara Temple.



Fig. 28. Bharateśvara Temple.

Fig. 30. Dvārapāla, Uttareśvara Temple.

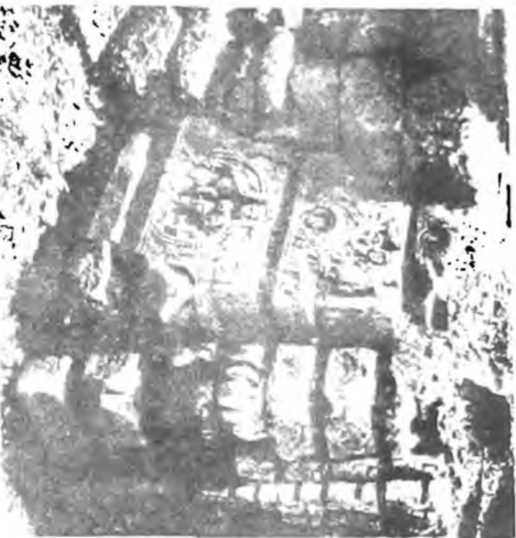


Fig. 29. The Corner Portion of an Earlier Temple, Yameśvara Compound.

Fig. 31. Dvārapala, Uttareśvara Temple.

Fig. 32. Kāma with Rati and Prīti, Uttareśvara Temple.



Fig. 35A. Yama. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 36. Varuṇa. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 35B. Indra. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



[illegible]



M[illegible] Paraśurāmeśvara Temple

[illegible] Parasurāmeśvara Temple.

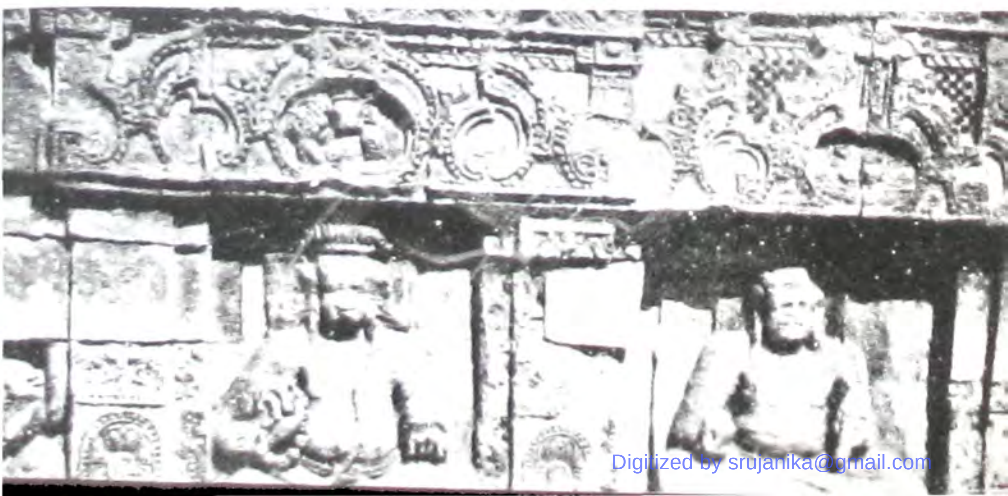


Fig. 41. Front Façade of Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.

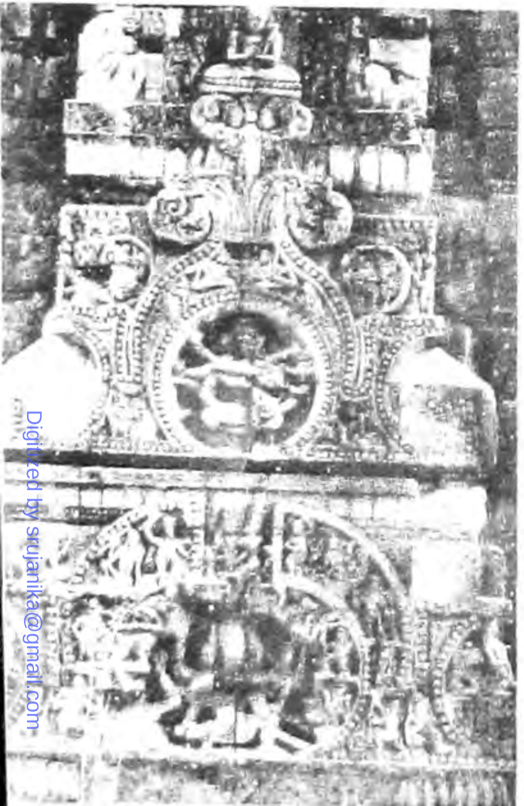




Fig. 42. Front façade of Bharateśvara Temple.

Fig. 40. Chandra, Parasurāmeśvara Temple.





Fig. 47. Sisiresvara Temple.



Fig. 48. Sūrya, Vaitāl Temple.

Fig. 49. Female Deity. Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 50. Female Deity, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 52. Amorous Couple, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 51. Amorous Couple Vaitāl Temple

Fig. 53. Alasa-kanyā, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 54. Dwarfs flanking a Chaitya Arch, Tālesvara Temple.



Fig. 55. Torana, Muktesvara Temple.

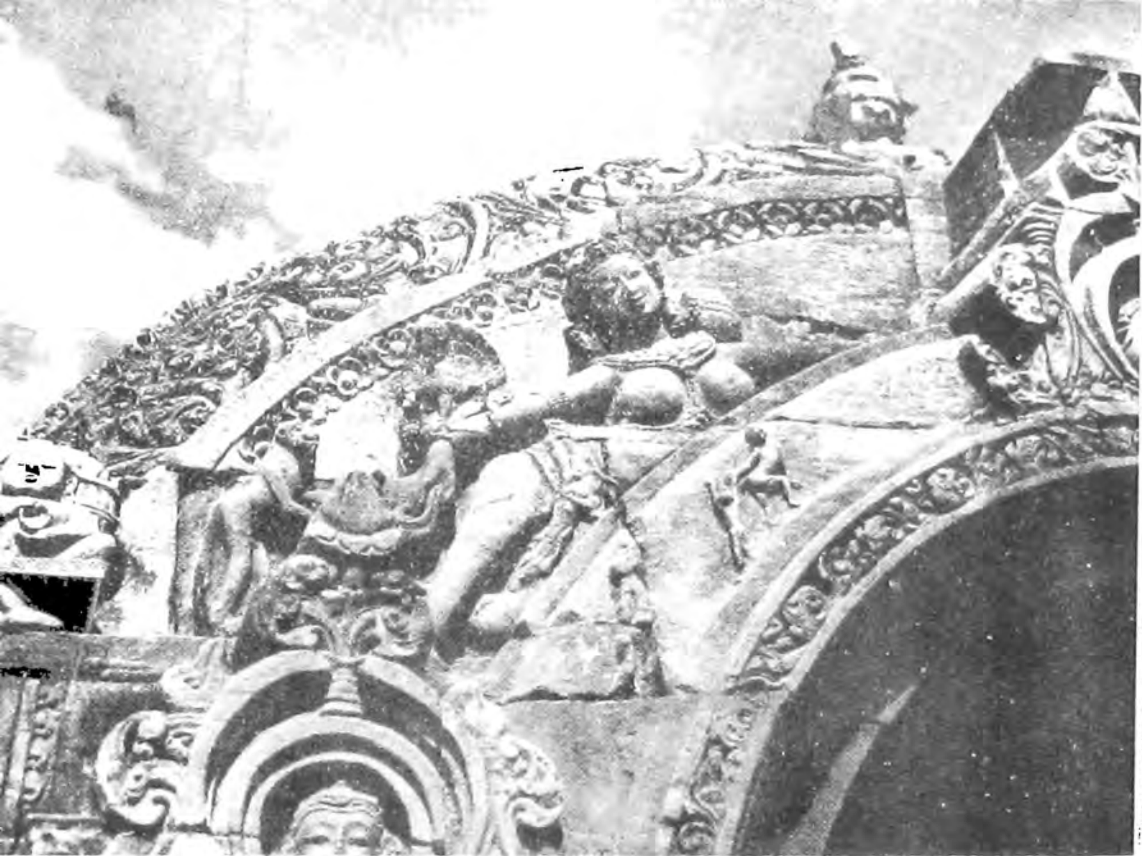


Fig. 56. Detailed View of the Mukteśvara Toraṇa.



Fig. 57. Kīrtti-mukha with an elaborate design below, Mukteśvara Temple.



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Fig. 59. Dhyānī Buddha, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 60. Jaina Tīrthāṅkara, Mukteśvara Temple.

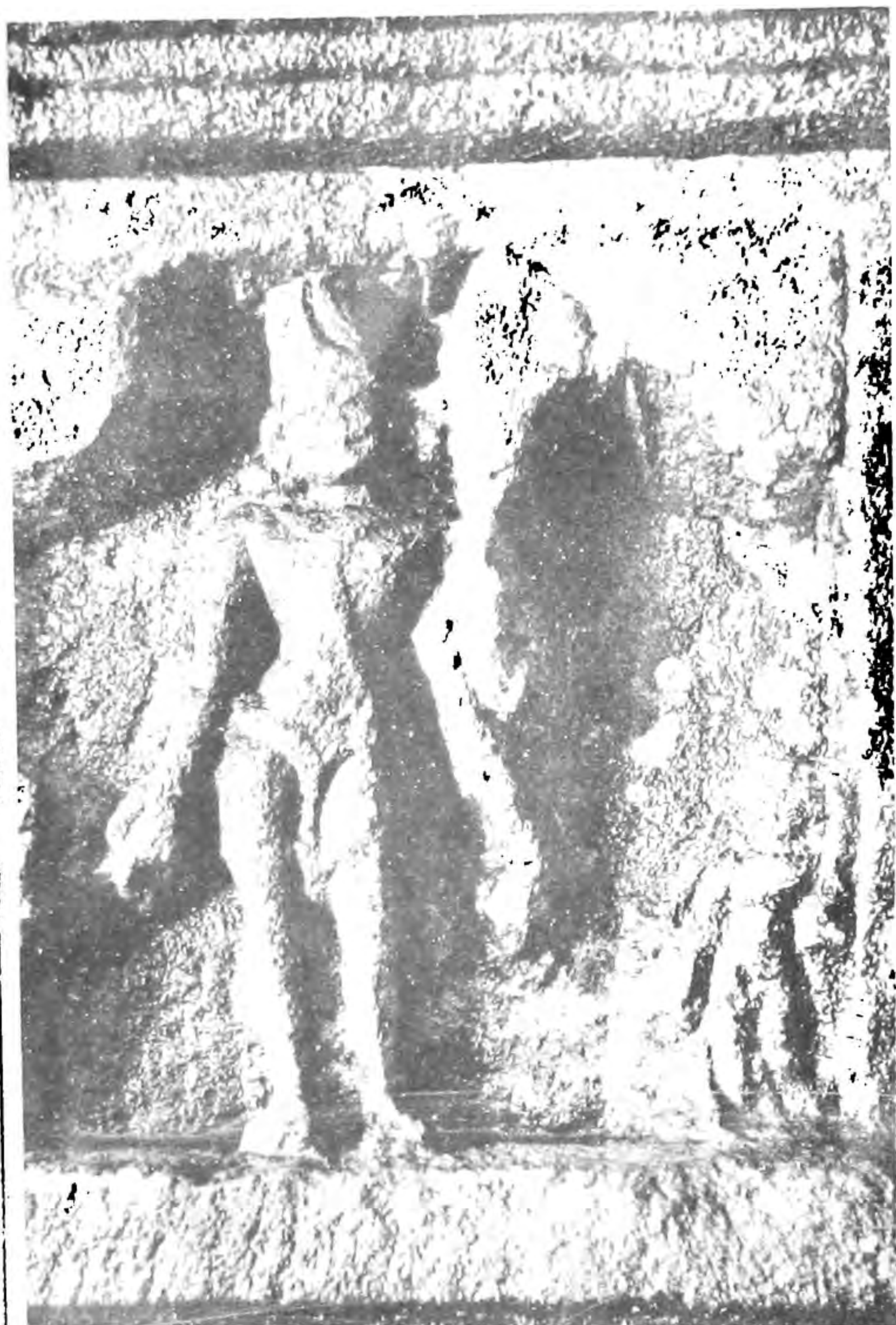


Fig. 61. Avalokiteśvara, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 62. Lakulīśa. Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 63 Linga Worship, Rājarāṇi Temple.

Fig. 64. Female Counter-part of Naṭarāja, Rājarāṇi Temple.



Fig. 65. Rājarāṇi Temple.

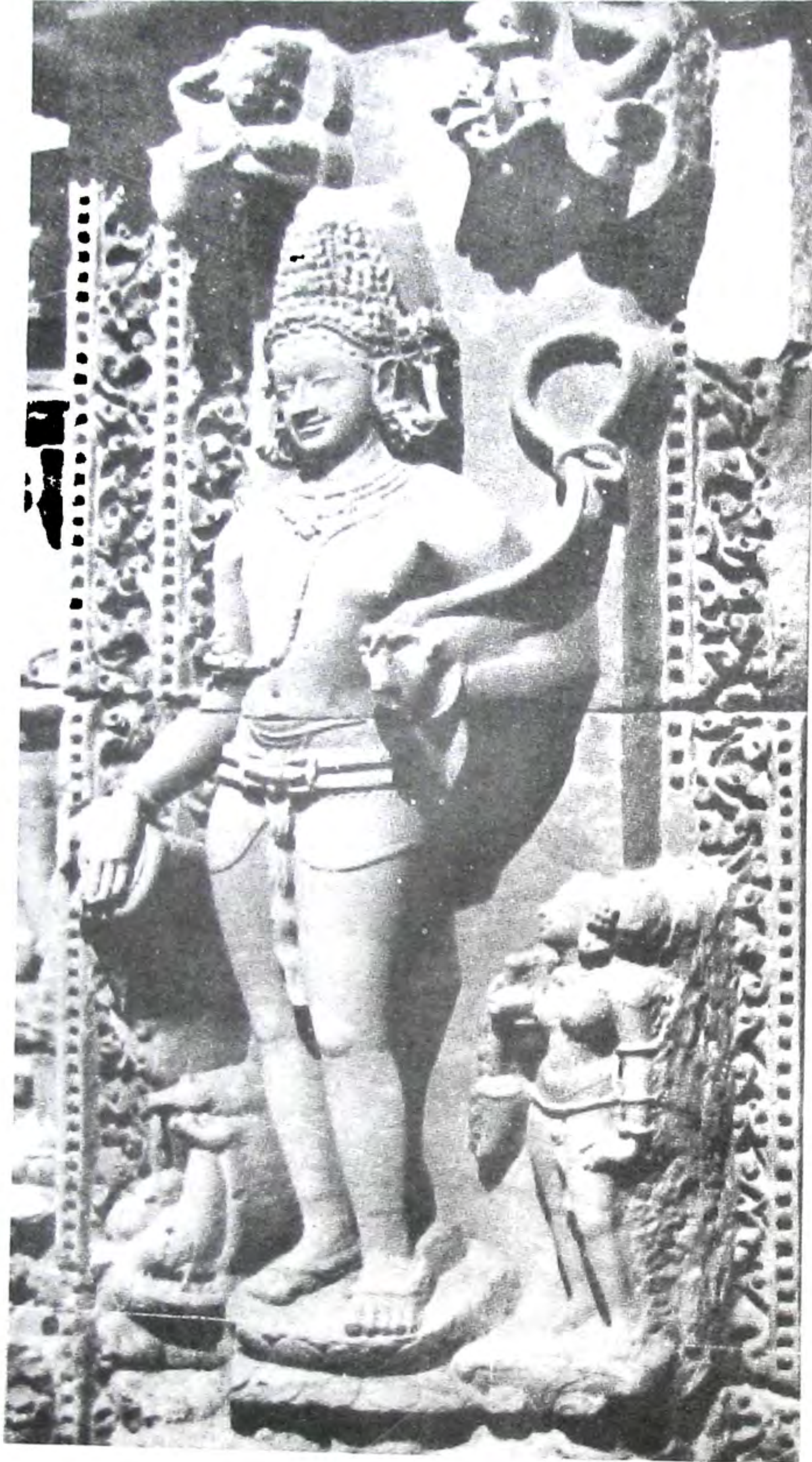


Fig. 66. Varuṇa, Rājarāṇī Temple.



Fig. 67. Alasa-kanyā, Rājarāṇi Temple.





Fig. 72. Alasa-kanyā, Liṅgarāja Temple.



Fig. 73. Monkey and Crocodile Story, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 74. Suparṇṇa, Rājarāṇi Temple.



Fig. 75. Muktā-lobhī-rāja-haṁsa, Rājarānī Temple.

Fig. 76. Enigmatic Figures, Mukteśvara Temple.

Fig. 77. Dvārapāla in the Nāṭamandira of the Liṅgarāja Temple.

Fig. 78. Dvārapāla in the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple.

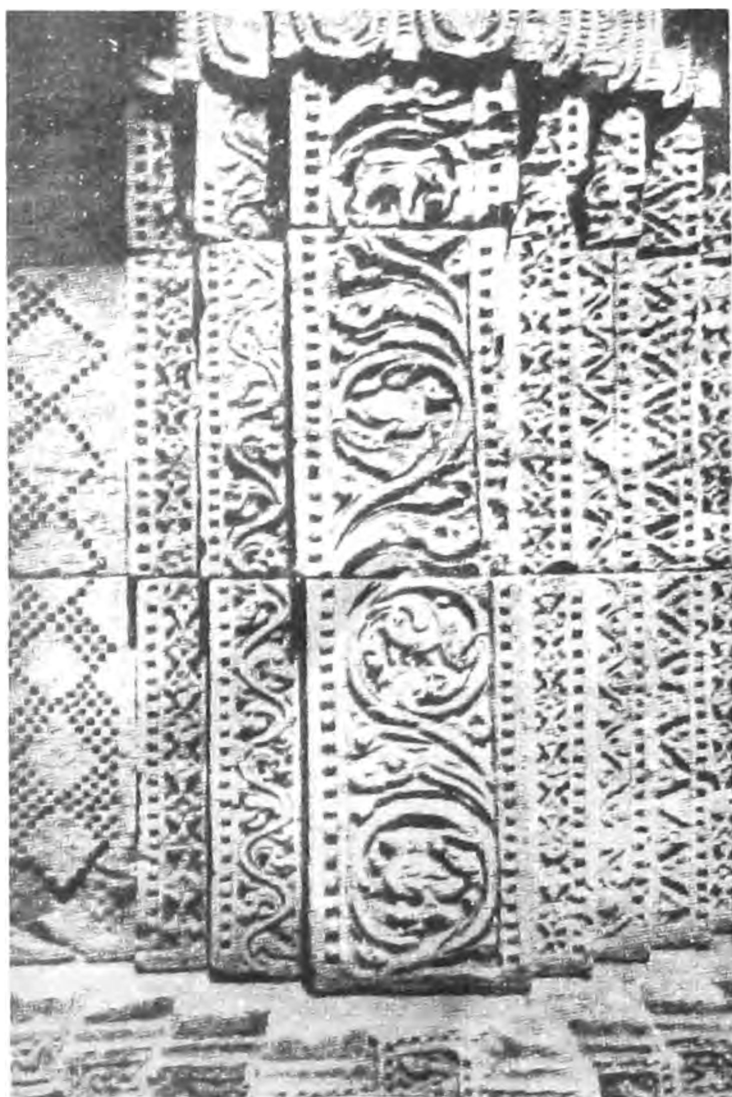


Fig. 79. A Specimen of Decorative Designs, Pārvati Temple.

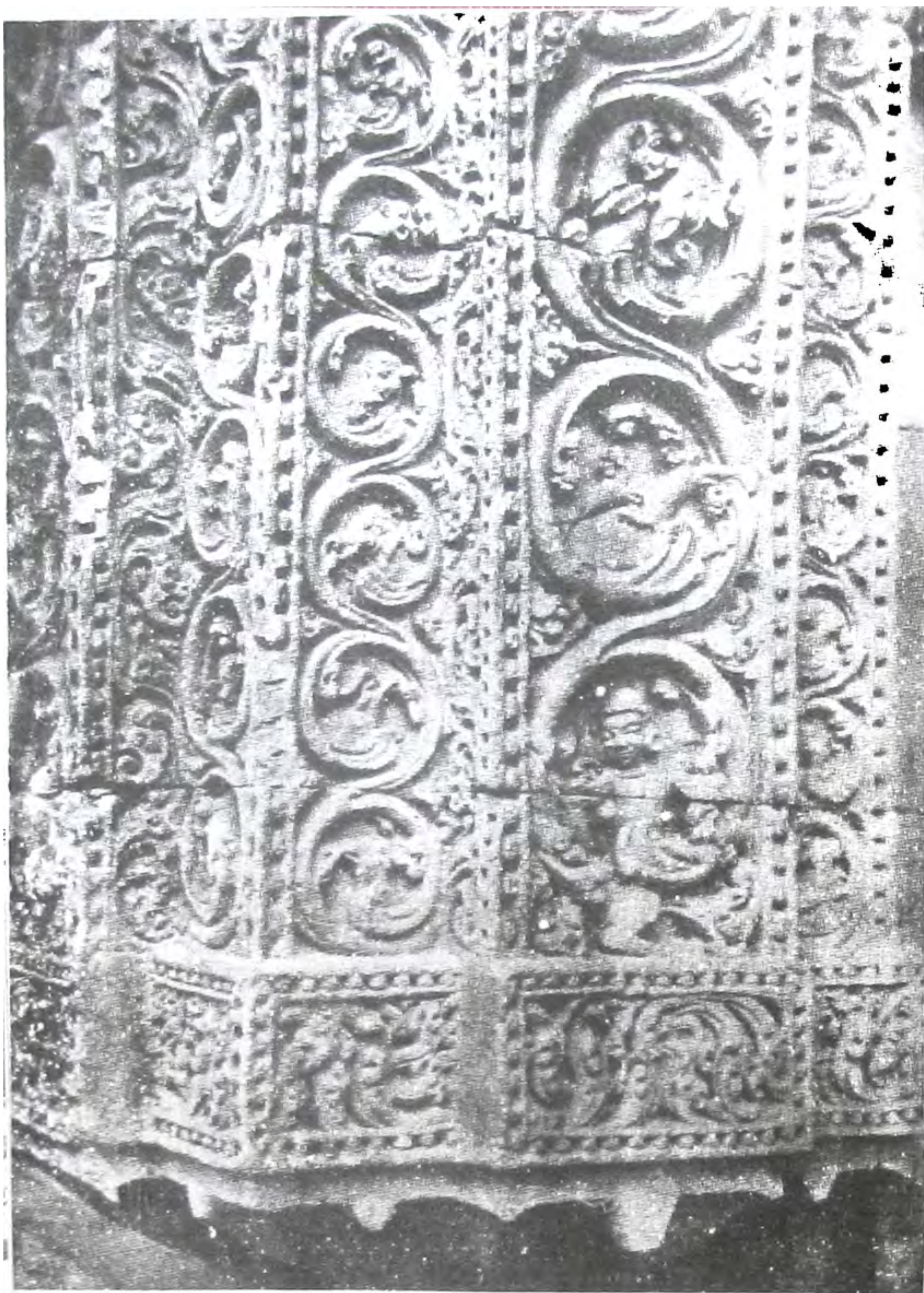


Fig. 80. A Specimen of Decorative Designs, Liṅgarāja Temple.

Fig. 81. Female Figure raising a temple structure, Brahmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 82. Elephant Procession, Pāpanāśinī Temple.



Fig. 83A. Nanda, Yaśodā and Śrī-kṛṣṇa, Brahmeśvara Temple.

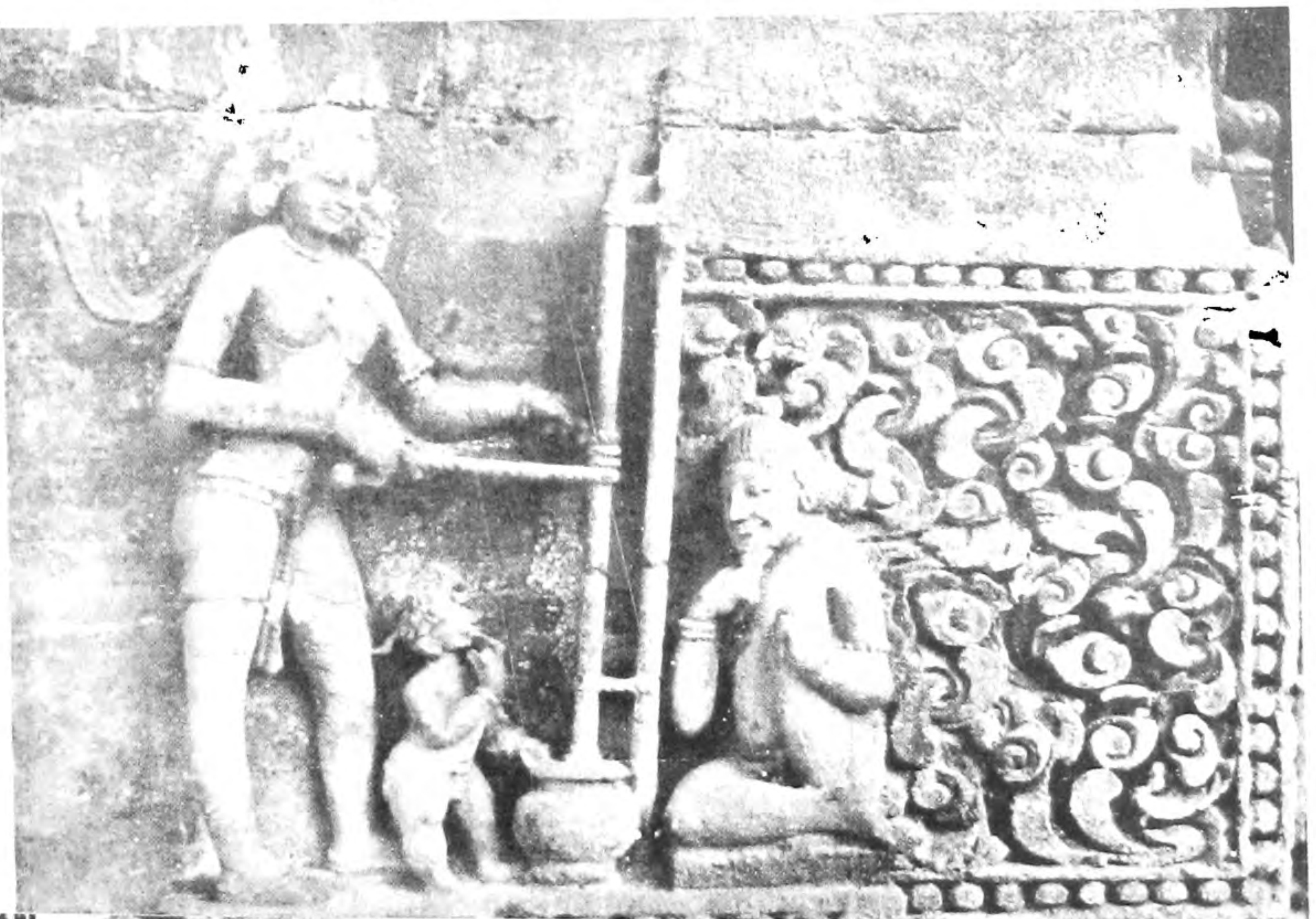


Fig. 83B. Nanda, Yaśodā and Śrī-kṛiṣṇa, Liṅgarāja Temple.



Fig. 86A. Sivānī, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 8P. Brāhmī, Vaitāl Temple.

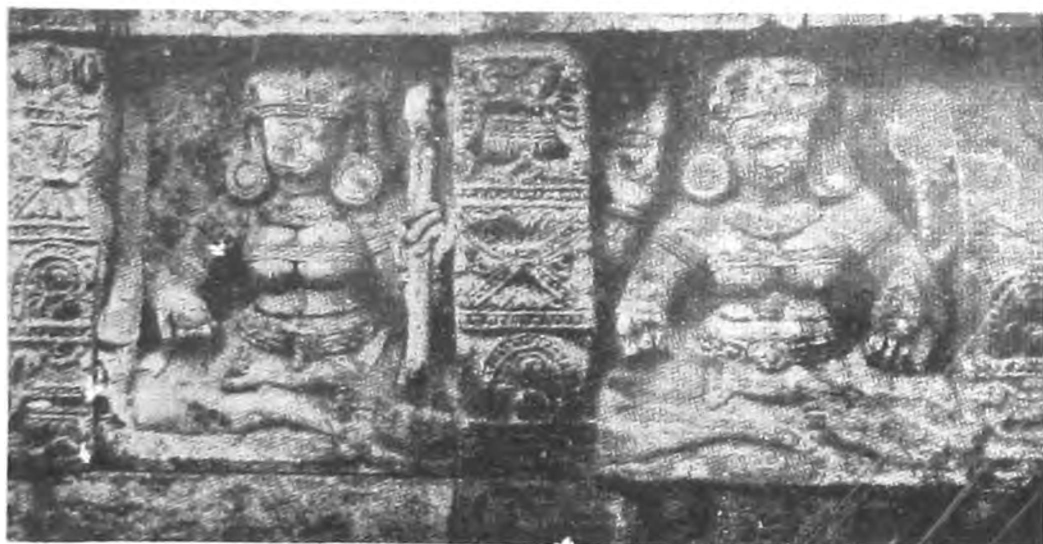


Fig. 86B. Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 87A. Chāmuṇḍā and Gaṇeśa, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 87B. Indrāṇī and Vārāhī, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 89A. Indrāṇi, Vaitāl Temple.

Fig. 89B. Śivānī, Vaitāl Temple

Fig. 90. Vīrabhadra, Vaitāl Temple.

Fig. 91. Male Counterpart of Vārāhi, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 92. Bhairava, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 93 Gajāntakāri-mūrtti, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 94. Kārttikeya, Uttareśvara Temple.

Fig. 95. Kārttikeya stuck to a Later Miniature Temple.



Fig. 96 Kārttikeya stuck to a Later Miniature Temple.

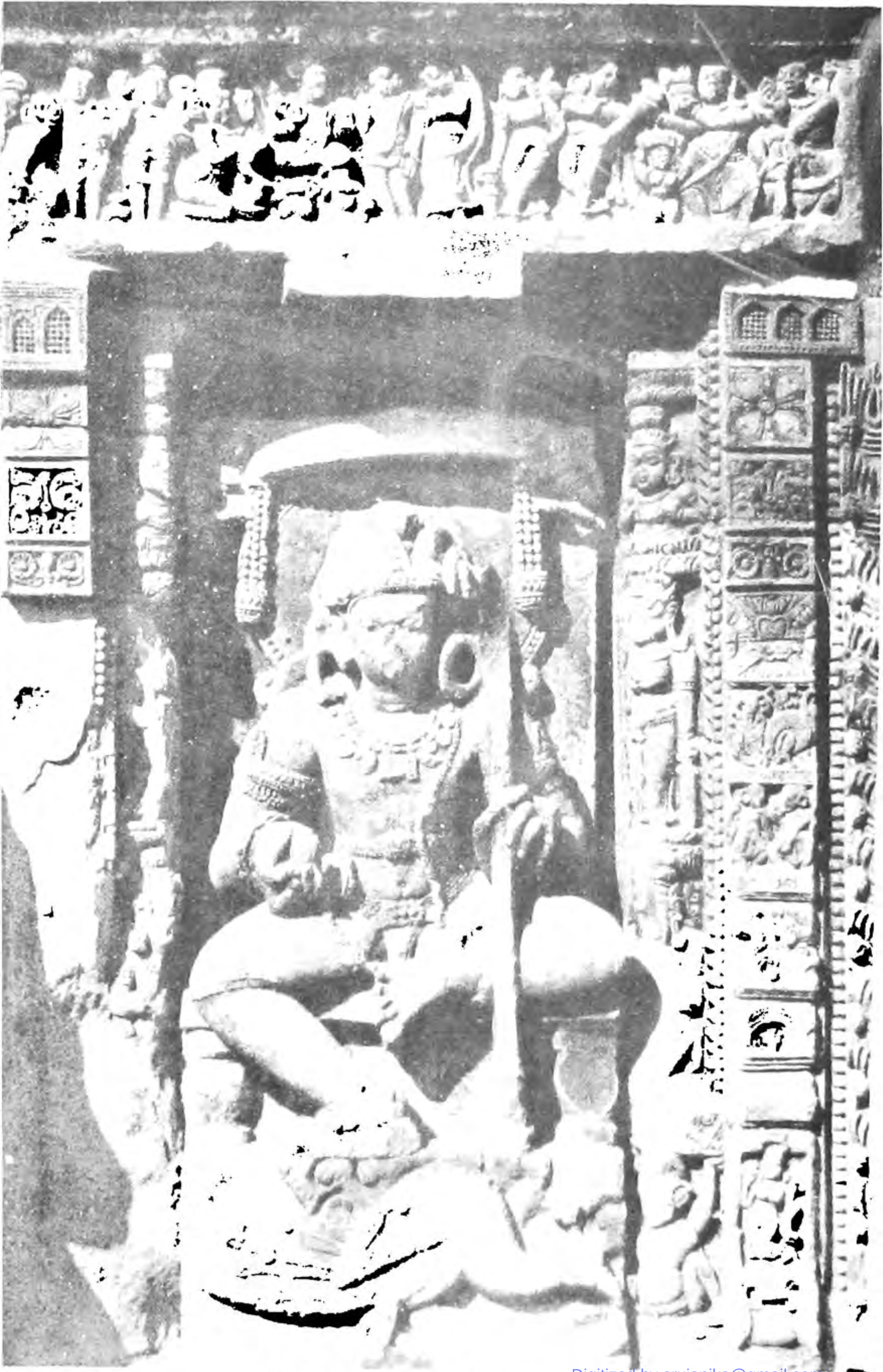


Fig. 97. Kārttikeya, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 98. Kārttikeya in a Miniature Temple, Yameśvara Compound.



Fig. 99. Kārttikeya, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 100. Kārttikeya, Siddheśvara Temple.



Fig. 101. Kārttikeya, Kapileśvara Temple.



Fig. 102. Kārttikeya, Nāṭa-mandira of the Liṅgarāja Temple.



Fig. 103. Kārttikeya, Paśchimeśvara Temple.



Fig. 104. Gaṇeśa stuck to a Later Miniature Temple.



Fig. 105. Gaṇeśa in the Jagamohana of Rāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 106. Gaṇeśa, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 107. Gaṇeśa, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 108. Gaṇeśa, Kedāreśvara Temple.

Fig. 109. Pārvatī stuck to a Later Structure, Liṅgarāja compound.



Fig. 110. Pārvatī, Paśchimeśvara Temple.

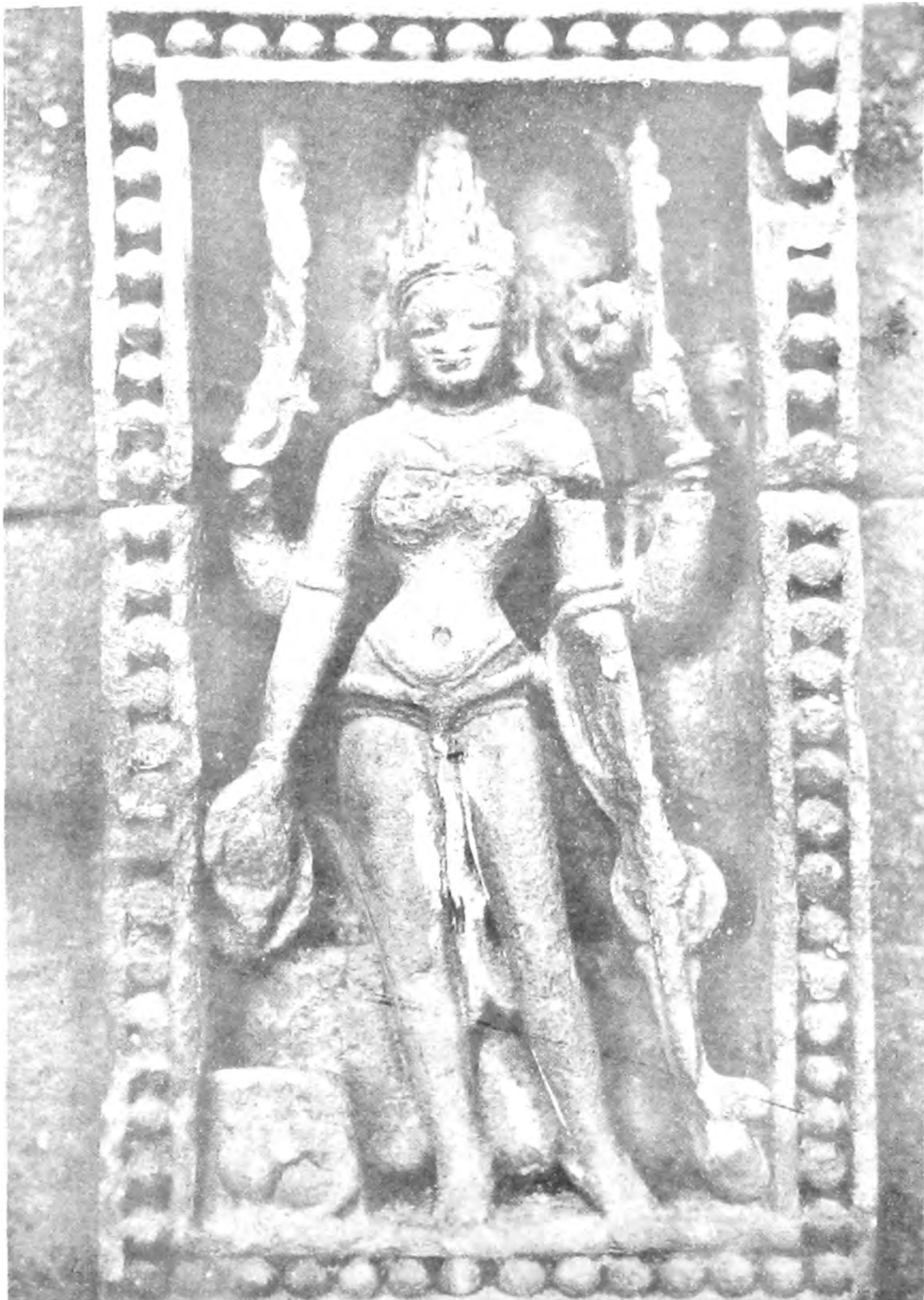


Fig. 111. Pārvati, Rājarāṇī Temple.



Fig. 112. Mahiṣa-mardinī, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 113. Mahiṣa-mardini. Lingarāja Compound.



Fig. 114. Naṭarāja in a Miniature Temple, Muktesvara Compound.



Fig. 115. Naṭarāja in the Cave No: 1 at Bādāmī, Bijapur District, Bombay.



Fig. 118. Naṭarāja, Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple.



Fig. 116. Naṭarāja, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 117. Naṭarāja, Śiśireśvara Temple.



Fig. 119. Naṭarāja, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 120. Naṭarāja, Rājarāṇī, Temple.



Fig. 121. Naṭarāja, Pāpanāśinī Temple.



Fig. 122. Navagraha, Mukteśvara Temple.



Fig. 124. Lakulisa, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 123. Navagraha, Koṭitirthesvara Temple.



Fig. 125. Lakulīśa, Bhārati Maṭha.



Fig. 126. Lakulīśa, Vaitāl Temple.



Fig. 127. Lakulīśa, Liṅgarāja Temple.



Fig. 128. Lakulīśa, Megheśvara Temple

Fig. 132. Arddha-nārīśvara, Vaitāl Temple.

Fig. 133. Arddha-nārīśvara, Brahmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 135. Hara-Pārvati in the Meghesvara Temple.



Fig. 134. Hara-Pārvati, Bhārati Maṭha.



Fig. 136. Andhaka-vadha-mūrti, Brahmeśvara Temple.

Fig. 137. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān, Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple.

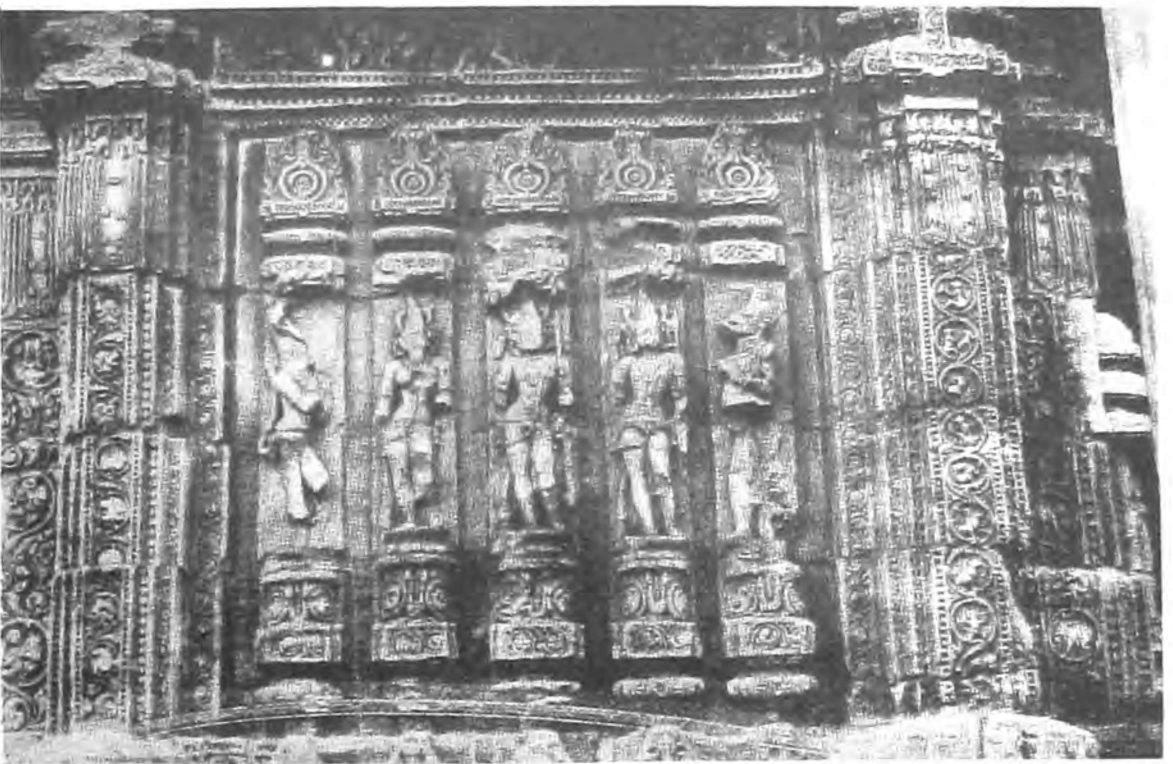




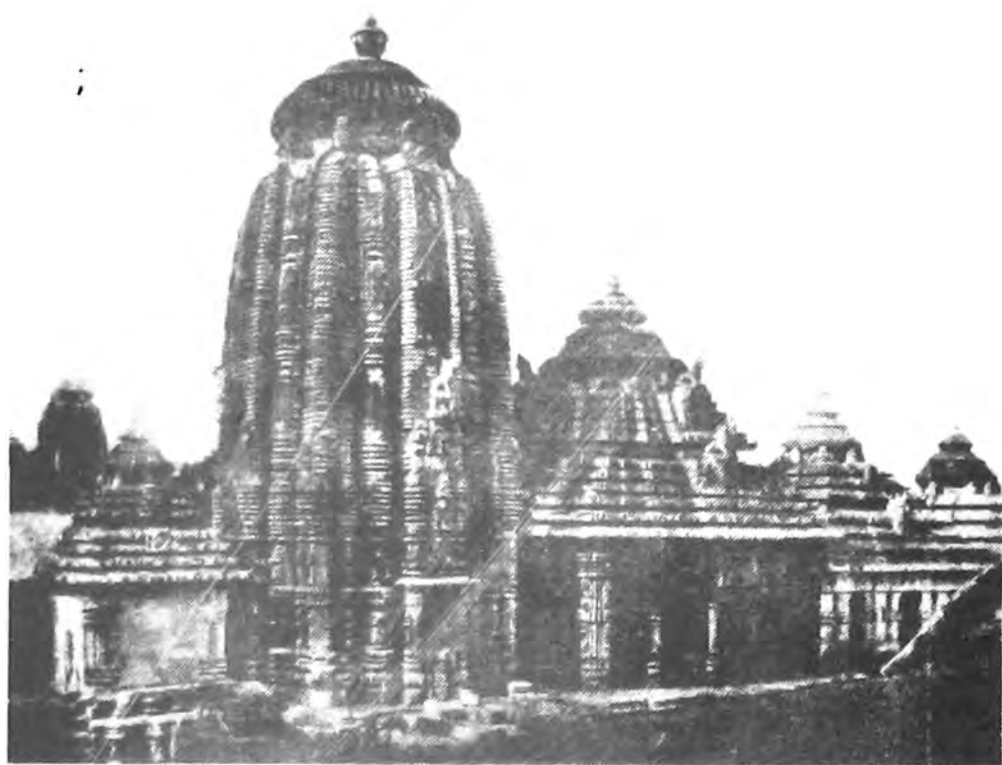
Fig. 138. Standing Gaṇeśa, Liṅgarāja Compound.

Fig. 139. Inscription on the Southern Door, Paraśurāmeśvara.

Fig. 140. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple.



Fig. 141. Vaitāl Temple.



Fil. 142. Lingarāja Temple.

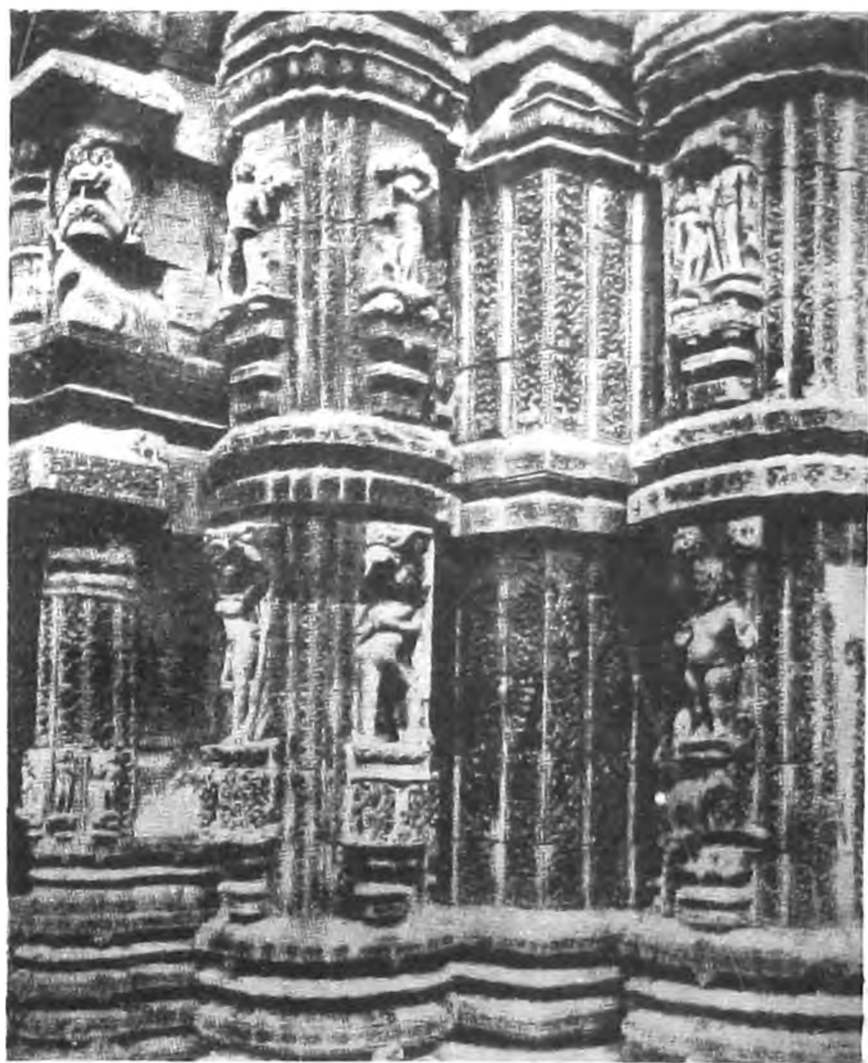


Fig. 143. Southern Side of the Rājarāṇī Temple.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT BHUBANESWAR

The present work assigns the numerous monuments of Bhubaneswar to the broard political epochs, but it is not intended to fix their dates, which in many cases was precluded by the nature of the data available at that time. The author, an acknowledged expert in his own field, has introduced a new method of typographical study which has provided clues to fix the dates of the monuments and to reveal their historical significance In its wider scope the work serves as a chronometric purpose for further study of art and architecture not only in Orissa, but also in the whole of Eastern India. It is expected that this book will serve its purpose as a guide and a rich source of reference to the research scholars in their investigations to throw more light on the archaeological remains of Orissa.

Kitab Mahal, Cuttack, Orissa